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METAMORPHOSES

BOOK XIII

EDITED BY NEIL HOPKINSON

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EDITED BY
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PREFACE

I should never have embarked on this commentary without the knowledge that it would be scrutinised by Professor E. J. Kenney in his capacity as Editor. He read meticulously successive drafts, effected innumerable improvements, and showed what it is to be a real student of Ovid. Bömer's compilation has been of great use in the provision of parallel passages and discussion of sources; I regret that I have not been able to benefit from the commentary by various hands on the whole of the *Metamorphoses* soon to be published by the Fondazione Lorenzo Valla. I am fortunate, however, in having received detailed and extremely useful comments from Mr A. G. Lee and Dr S. P. Oakley, each of whom brought to my efforts his own particular learning and expertise. Professor P. E. Easterling made helpful contributions to the Introduction and to the notes on lines 408–571. Professor R. J. Tarrant generously made available a draft of his forthcoming Oxford Classical Text of the *Metamorphoses*. Susan Moore copy-edited the book with unwinking vigilance, and Pauline Hire saw it through the Press with her customary efficiency. Professor E. W. Handley was kind enough to read the proofs. To all these I tender my warmest thanks.

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April 2000



Italy, Greece and Asia Minor



Black Sea
R. Hebrus
ODRYSIA
THRACE
BISTONIA
Byzantium
Bosporus
MYSIA
CHALCIDICE
SITHONIA
THESSALY
Cynossema
Rhoeteum
Troy
Sigeum
LESSER PHRYGIA
R. Simois
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Lemnos
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CYCLADES
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LYCIA
PELOPONNESE
Sparta
Rhodes
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CRETE

INTRODUCTION

1. METAMORPHOSIS

All three canonical ancient epics include metamorphoses. These consist chiefly of gods disguising themselves as humans, but there are others too.[1] On a more general level, the *Iliad* tells of Achilles' conversion from wrath to reconciliation; in the *Odyssey* Odysseus, a master of disguise, deception and dissimulation, is successively leader of men, wanderer, beggar and king. The *Aeneid* accounts for the metamorphosis of Rome from its small beginnings to world domination.[2] But although it is possible to see transformation as one aspect of their epics, neither Homer nor Virgil had emphasised that theme. The *Iliad*, *Odyssey* and *Aeneid* are instead closely bound up with the idea of permanence: they are monumental poems which exist to memorialise their subjects with changeless glory and an immortal name.

Ovid was not the first to write in hexameters about transformation: the Hellenistic Greek poets Nicander and Boeus or Boeo had respectively compiled *Metamorphoses* (*Heteroeumena*) and *Origins of birds* (*Ornithogonia*), Parthenius in the first century BC had written *Metamorphoses* probably in verse (*SH* 636–7), and in Latin Aemilius Macer, an older friend of Ovid's, had written or translated a work on avian transformation.[3] Ovid was, however, the first to treat metamorphosis at such a length as to invite comparison with previous great epics. His poem has no central human protagonists, but instead celebrates *mutatas . . . formas* and *noua . . . corpora*:

> in noua fert animus mutatas dicere formas
> corpora. di, coeptis (nam uos mutastis et illa)[4]

[1] *Il.* 24.614–17, *Od.* 13.154–78. In the *Odyssey* Proteus is a shapeshifter and Circe transforms Odysseus' companions into swine.

[2] Hardie (1992), esp. 62.

[3] *Tr.* 4.10.43–4; see Courtney, *FLP* 292–9. Myers (1994) 22–5 has a useful survey of pre-Ovidian metamorphosis literature.

[4] On *illa* see p. 4 n. 11 below. *illa* (sc. *coepta*) is poorly attested but has been accepted in preference to *illas* by most recent scholars because it makes *et* much easier to translate and involves the poet himself in metamorphosis: Kenney (1976). See however Lee (1993).

> adspirate meis, primaque ab origine mundi
> ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen. (1.1–4)

noua implies the strangeness and suddenness of transformation, but it refers also to the novelty of Ovid's approach to epic. *perpetuum* suggests both the temporal continuity of a narrative which moves from the creation of the world to the present, and the conventional epic aspirations to immortality mentioned above. *animus*, playfully alluding to the first word of the *Iliad*,[5] and *mutatas ... formas*, a reference to the word *polytropon*, 'of many turns', applied to Odysseus in the first line of the *Odyssey*, together make the point that this poem will rival earlier epics. The subject-matter, then, will be radically different, but the scale and scope will still be grand. Here in the opening lines are already represented two different perspectives on the poem: formally it is another epic, grand and sublime (echoes of Homer), yet it proclaims at the outset its novelty and innovation. The word *perpetuum* suggests linear development and smooth chronological progression; but its juxtaposition with *deducite*, a term familiar from neoteric poetry,[6] creates an allusion to a famous passage of Callimachus' *Aetia* in which the poet refuses to write 'one continuous song in many thousands of verses' (fr. 1.3–4): any perpetuity or continuousness claimed by this 'song' will be, at the least, ironised and paradoxical.[7] Callimachean, too, is Ovid's organisation by theme rather than by hero: the long elegiac *Aetia*, similarly episodic, claimed to give explanations for Greek customs and rituals. The *Metamorphoses* both perpetuates and gives new shape to the epic form; and the genre, transmuted, retains many of its former characteristics.

Almost every episode concludes with or involves a transformation, but the ways in which the subject is treated are highly diverse. Some metamorphoses are described at length, others perfunctorily; some are central, others incidental, to their stories; some humans are changed into animals, others into inanimate objects, while yet others become gods or stars; some are transformed by way of punishment for, others as escape from, terrible crimes; some receive peculiarly

[5] μῆνιν, 'anger'. *animosus* is used of Achilles at *Ep.* 8.1, Hor. *Sat.* 1.7.12.
[6] See Coleman on Virg. *Ecl.* 6.5. [7] Kenney (1976) 51–2.

appropriate transformations which perpetuate their human traits, while others do not. The metamorphoses in Book 13 exemplify this variety. The transformation of Ajax into a hyacinth, the climax of an episode almost four hundred lines long, is neither particularly appropriate for Ajax nor elaborately treated. Hecuba's metamorphosis into a dog is described in such a way as to emphasise the continuing nature of her anger. The battling of memnon-birds at the pyre of their ancestor provides an aetiology for observable phenomena in the natural world. The miraculous transformative gifts of Anius' daughters are the cause of their metamorphosis. Acis' conversion into a river is suited to the watery context. The merman's tale provides a humorous aetiology for his merman's tail. In every book of the poem the theme of change is treated with ceaselessly inventive variety.

Such transformations of shape and appearance are Ovid's professed subject. But the long speech of Pythagoras, prominently placed at the beginning of the final book, invites a wider view of metamorphosis and raises perpetual change to the level of a universal principle. As evidence for constant flux Pythagoras cites the alternation of day and night, the waxing and waning of the moon, the procession of the seasons, the ageing of human bodies, the interchangeability of earth, air, fire and water, gradual alteration in the appearance of places, the mutual encroachment of sea and land, various natural phenomena (clashing rocks, volcanoes, bear-cubs licked into shape, the reborn phoenix, sexually mutating hyaenas, etc.), and the fact that great cities perish and new powers arise. The doctrine of metempsychosis or transmigration of the soul, fundamental to Pythagoreanism, is another aspect of this principle. Now Romans knew well that different perspectives can reveal the world as essentially unchanging or as constantly in flux. The human race continues, though human lives have only a brief duration. A continuing sense of self subsists within our bodies, which however deteriorate, imperceptibly but inexorably, from youth to age. The river that we cross each day is called by the same name, but its water is different water. These and similar observations were familiar truths and familiar paradoxes long before Ovid. But although it is unscientific and humorously framed with references to eccentric vegetarianism, and despite the

fact that the philosopher's voice is by no means to be confused with that of the author,[8] Pythagoras' speech gives prominence to a way of looking at the world which is clearly congenial, appropriate, relevant and interesting for the *Metamorphoses*. And if the transformations catalogued by Ovid, simple for the most part and irreversible, are only one aspect of a world of constant mutability, oscillation, discontinuity and transmogrification, then it would seem beneficial to take a broad view of what constitutes metamorphosis within the poem. A treatise on fallacies need not be false, nor a book on antiquities old; but in the case of the *Metamorphoses* readers are explicitly invited to consider both form and content in light of the poem's theme.

The metaphorical relationship between the *Metamorphoses* and its subject can be explored in a variety of ways. Such words as *forma*, *species*, *figura*, *mutare*, *fieri* and *uertere* take on a charged meaning,[9] so that a change of mind,[10] a change of clothing, a vacillating woman, a transference of power, a capricious tyrant, a *bouleversement* of expectations, a fluctuation in political affairs, can all be seen as part of a metamorphic world-view. The genre, too, has received a new form; and Ovid, himself a convert from elegy to epic,[11] ceaselessly varies the tone both within and between episodes. In a society where *res nouae* meant 'revolution' and change was associated with disturbance of the ordained state of affairs, a poem proclaiming *noua* ... *corpora* and *mutatas* ... *formas* may fitly be called radical. Emphasis on relativism, contingency and variability, albeit with reference for the most part to mythological events,[12] could be read as disconcertingly revisionist: *mutatas* ... *formas* marks not only the reform of epic, but also perhaps the possibility of a change of order, of political reformation. Nothing – even Rome itself – continues the same for long.

Yet some things may be said to stay the same:[13] even in this world of flux, both literal and metaphorical, there may be some permanence. Ovid proclaims at the end of the poem his own immortal

[8] Barchiesi (1989) 111–12.

[9] Anderson (1963), Tissol (1997).

[10] Skulsky (1981).

[11] If *illa* is to be read in line 2. See p. 1 n. 4. In the exile poetry Ovid points also to his *change* of fortune: *Tr.* 1.1.119–20; cf. 4.1.99.

[12] Cf., however, 1.200–5.

[13] *Contra* Tissol (1997) 193.

name, which will survive through the generations (15.871–9).[14] More generally, by providing aetiological explanations for enduring human characteristics or animal species, for example, the poem may be said to present a fresh insight into the underlying nature of things.

Stories of transformation can revolutionise the way in which we look at the world. One aspect of this is the revival of dead metaphors. We conventionally say that flowers nod, people are flinty-hearted, sleep overpowers, a river is raging, an act is sheer madness; many stories of metamorphosis make literal such expressions, and provide a new perspective on how things are. Metaphors taken from inanimate nature and used to characterise the human world, and (vice versa) anthropomorphising metaphors applied to the world of nature, are revealed in this poem to be peculiarly apt: metaphor and simile, figures generally assumed to disclose a likeness in unlike things, are shown to display a fundamental truth about the world, and nature to bear permanent witness to human suffering and passion.[15]

If metaphor is to be classed as a type of metamorphosis and figurative language is a sort of transfiguration, then a connexion can be made between the style and rhetoric of the poem and its subject. Critics following Seneca have noted Ovid's fascination with figures and tropes,[16] with the pointed *sententiae* of the schools of rhetoric in which he had his education, with his desire to say *idem aliter*. These characteristics of his style are apparent throughout the *Metamorphoses*, and are most openly deployed in the set speeches of Ajax and Ulysses in Book 13.[17] The principle of rhetorical variation and figurative expression could, however, be said to pervade not only individual sentences, but also episodes and the relations between them. The story of Narcissus and Echo enacts on a narrative level the figure of gemination or anaphora, syllepsis or zeugma, as Echo repeats

[14] But this claim is both unverifiable and ironically qualified: Ovid's name will survive *if the prognostications of poets are correct* (*siquid habent ueri uatum praesagia*). This might seem like an affirmative if-clause ('if ⟨as is actually the case⟩': 733–4n.); but at line 155 of the same book Pythagoras (who himself has a vatic stance) poured scorn on the subject-matter of *uates*.

[15] Tissol (1997).

[16] I.e., like Ulysses, he is *polytropos*: cf. p. 18.

[17] See pp. 16–18.

the words of her beloved;[18] the similar but varied tales on a theme told by Orpheus in Book 10 are a sort of narrative polyptoton; prosodic and semantic variation are paralleled on the larger scale by variation of tone, pace and subject between narratives; the silence of a metamorphosed Niobe enacts aposiopesis; inset narratives are parentheses (a figure much affected by Ovid);[19] the tumid river Achelous and the garrulous Nestor represent redundancy or pleonasm; allusive summaries of better-known tales are a form of narrative ellipsis;[20] juxtaposed tales on closely related themes figure hendiadys, contrasting tales oxymoron; Fames, Somnus, Invidia and Fama are personifications on a large scale.[21] Passages of transition between tales have a function comparable to that of conjunctions, pointing logical consequence (= *ergo*), adversative relation (= *sed* or *at non*), similarity (= *non aliter*), etc.; stories, like the clauses and sentences of which they are formed, can have a co-ordinate or subordinate relation with one another. It would be possible to construct a grammar of Ovidian narrative along these lines.

2. STRUCTURE AND THEMES

With the universal and all-embracing grandeur of the epic poet, Ovid claims to write about events *prima ... ab origine mundi | ad mea ... tempora* (1.3–4). The poem fulfils this claim by beginning with an account of the creation, proceeding to the Myth of Ages, the Flood, and the regeneration of mankind by Deucalion and Pyrrha, and concluding, from Book 12 onwards, with 'historical' time (the Trojan War, Aeneas, Roman stories, Caesar, Augustus). But many of the stories inherited or adapted by Ovid were fixed to no particular time, and could be placed wherever the poet chose. Although he follows epic convention in dividing his poem into books,[22] he often makes an episode straddle book-divisions: the Judgement of Arms,

[18] Rosati (1983).
[19] Von Albrecht (1964).
[20] See n. 24.
[21] Generally on this topic see Tissol (1997) 18–26; on figures Wills (1996).
[22] The Homeric book-divisions were in fact made centuries after the time of Homer, but about 200 years before Ovid.

for example, is introduced at the end of Book 12, and Glaucus' tale continues into Book 14. The *Metamorphoses* is continuous (*perpetuum* 1.4) in that it has chronological progression and has its tales linked by passages of transition; but at the same time it is discontinuous, in that it does not focus on a single period, place, king or hero. As the world seems from one perspective constantly in flux but from another reassuringly stable, so the *Metamorphoses* can justifiably be called unified or diverse in theme, coherent or heterogeneous in structure, linear or complex in development. There is evidence to support each of these, and many other, analyses of the poem. Convention divides distance into units of standard length, but travellers observe no correspondence between the landscape traversed and the number and position of milestones along their way. Readers of the *Metamorphoses* observe division into books and chronological progression, but these things seem not to help greatly towards an appreciation of the whole.[23]

Analogies of this kind are always imprecise, and can be misleading. But the analogy with a journey is suitable at least in the case of 13.622–14.608, where Ovid's narrative travels alongside that of Virgil, and the transitions from one story of metamorphosis to another are in some cases effected by passages of allusive summary which rely on readers' knowledge of the *Aeneid*.[24] Ovid hurries past episodes already familiar and dwells instead on characters and aspects of the myth not treated by Virgil. This technique of expansion or contraction of inherited material is typical of Ovid's practice in the *Metamorphoses*.

Another form of transition used in Book 13 is explicit contrast. In lines 572–6 we learn that the gods pitied Hecuba, *but* that Aurora was too preoccupied to feel pity (*non uacat Aurorae*); at lines 623–4 a similar transitional sentence says that the Fates did *not* destroy the hopes of Troy (*non tamen euersam* ...). Such transitions as these, of which there are many in the poem,[25] draw attention to the principle of variety and discontinuity, and make explicit the manipulative

[23] On transitions between books see further 1n.

[24] Cf. 382–98, 558–64, 623–31, 705–18nn. On the Ovidian *Aeneid* see Hinds (1998) 103–22.

[25] See 576n., Solodow (1988) 43–4.

character of the omnipresent and prestidigitatory[26] narrator, who can with equal ease stitch together episodes seamlessly or set them against each other with perfunctory whimsicality.

Division into books may be a less marked principle of organisation than others in the poem, but it does invite readers to see whether the stories in each are a coherent group. An attempt to do this for Book 13 reveals several common themes. It is possible, for example, to see an emphasis on speeches of persuasion (serious: Ajax and Aurora; humorous: Polyphemus and Glaucus), or to see the book as framed by pairs of speeches which attempt to persuade (Ajax, Ulysses; Polyphemus, Glaucus), or as organised around a series of deaths (Ajax, Astyanax, Polyxena, Polydorus, Polymestor, Acis). The Judgement of Arms and Hecuba episodes are linked by the motif of deception; Hecuba, Aurora and Anius by parental love; Anius' daughters, Galatea and Scylla by unwelcome suitors; Aurora and Anius by mourning; Memnon, the Coroni and Anius' daughters by transformation into birds; Ajax and the Coroni by suicide. But these themes and motifs are common to other books, and there seems no particular reason why an analysis of them should confine itself to Book 13. More particular to that book, perhaps, is a journey through earlier literature parallel to the temporal and spatial progression of the narrative: the Judgement of Arms was an episode from the Epic Cycle and stands in place of the *Iliad*,[27] Hecuba's revenge is based chiefly on a tragedy by Euripides, and the Polyphemus and Galatea episode is inspired by Theocritus. But this superficially neat schema is disrupted by the fact that Aurora and Memnon are associated with the Cycle, and that Anius is from the *Aeneid*. Alternatively, one could view the first part of the book, including Hecuba, as inspired by the Cycle and the second part as arranged (with insets) around the formal framework of the *Aeneid*;[28] but that scheme does not take account

[26] Quint. 4.1.77 *illa uero frigida et puerilis est in scholis adfectatio, ut ipse transitus efficiat aliquam utique sententiam et huius uelut praestigiae plausum petat, ut Ouidius lasciuire in Metamorphosesin solet.* ('There is indeed a pedantic and childish affectation in vogue in the schools of marking the transition by some epigram and seeking to win applause by this feat of legerdemain. Ovid is given to this form of affectation in his *Metamorphoses*' – trans. Butler (1921–2).)

[27] See p. 10.

[28] See pp. 22–3, 30–2, 35.

of the fact that the Judgement of Arms is more like a tragic *agōn* than anything in epic, and that the seeds of the Hecuba story are to be found already in the *Aeneid*.[29] Further details of the sources for episodes in Book 13 may be found below (pp. 9–43).

All stories in the poem have equal status, since all have the common denominator of its subject, metamorphosis. Some are longer than others, but none is explicitly privileged. Because hints towards a construction of meaning are absent, each reading of the poem can be a new exercise in association. The Judgement of Arms, for example, can relate to the story of Hyacinthus, as ending with transformation into a hyacinth; or to Midas, as showing the catastrophic effects of faulty judgement; or to Myrrha and her nurse, as exemplifying shameful persuasion; or to the Lapiths and Centaurs, as standing in place of battle narrative; or to Pyramus, as ending with self-immolation; or to Pythagoras, as consisting of lengthy direct speech; or to Arachne and Actaeon, as involving the reader in evaluation of opposed cases. Similarly Galatea can be variously associated with other tales, depending on whether one emphasises her rejection of her suitor, her speaking in confidence to a sympathetic listener, or the combination of love and violence in her story. The principle of change thus inevitably extends to readers' responses: analyses of the poem are always vulnerable to counter-examples, and those critics tend to be more convincing who speak of its complexity and openness than those who highlight a particular theme. Division of the *Metamorphoses* into pentads or triads of books, or into sections on the divine and the human, or analyses which see as dominating themes love or the conflict between gods and mortals or the anxieties of the artist or natural philosophy or aetiology or Augustanism or anti-Augustanism – all, though convincing in parts, do not seem to measure up to the experience of reading the poem in its proliferating diversity.

3. LINES 1–398: THE JUDGEMENT OF ARMS

The first episode of Book 13 is the Judgement of Arms, a lengthy pair of speeches by Ajax and Ulysses followed by a very brief descrip-

[29] See pp. 22–3.

tion of the defeated Ajax' transformation into a hyacinth. Book 12 opened with the gathering of the Greek expedition to Troy, and what stands between that point and 13.622 is Ovid's equivalent of the Homeric poems. He avoids direct comparison. In place of the Iliadic battle narratives he puts the grotesquely and parodically bloody battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs, which culminates in the curious death of the invulnerable Lapith Caeneus, a sort of equivalent for Hector. The fall of Troy and death of Achilles are described at the end of the book, and next comes the Judgement of Arms. It is a battle of words, similar in length to the physical battle of the preceding book, *uerba* for *facta*. The story of the Lapiths and Centaurs had there been narrated by Nestor, and at its end he had been reproved by Tlepolemus for omitting to tell of the important part played by Hercules. Attention is drawn to the speaker's unreliability; and the importance of assessing evidence and not taking everything at face value is a theme which is to be important in the Judgement of Arms.[30]

By Ovid's time the debate over the arms of Achilles was a commonplace of the schools of rhetoric, where the arguments on each side had been rehearsed innumerable times. What was, and is, of interest to Ovid's readers is not the arguments themselves, but the fresh rhetorical variations and emphases imparted to this familiar theme. However, to clarify the mythological background and the references to earlier episodes, something must first be said about the characters of Ajax and Ulysses (Odysseus) as Ovid found them in the literary tradition.

Ajax and Ulysses

In the *Iliad* Ajax is characterised as a mighty warrior, among the Greeks second only to Achilles in fighting qualities.[31] In the absence of Achilles he fights a duel with Hector, and is not defeated.[32] He is particularly prominent in defending the ships when Achilles' absence results in a desperate rearguard action.[33] Odysseus is a warrior of the first rank and a wise and diplomatic figure, but in battle he is not so

[30] See p. 63, 181–204nn. [31] *Il.* 3.226–9, 2.768–9.
[32] See 82–97n. §3. [33] See 82–97n. §4.

distinguished as Ajax. He is given the stock epithet 'cunning' or 'wily',[34] an aspect of his character which shows itself for example in a night raid on the Trojan camp which he makes with Diomedes:[35] clearly this aspect of Odysseus was well known to the poet of the *Iliad*, though he chose not to emphasise it. In the *Odyssey* Odysseus' wiliness and trickery are much more prominent, though he is a brave and skilful fighter when occasion demands.

For purposes of comparison between Ajax and Odysseus, those Homeric episodes are most revealing in which the two appear together.

(*a*) In Book 9 of the *Iliad* Ajax and Odysseus are sent on an embassy to persuade Achilles to accept compensation from Agamemnon and return to battle. Odysseus makes a long conciliatory speech (225–306), which Achilles vehemently rebuts with a speech of even greater length (308–429); by way of preface he hints at Odysseus' reputation with the words 'I hate with a deadly hatred the man who thinks one thing and says another' (312–13). After an even lengthier attempt at persuasion by Phoenix, equally unsuccessful (430–619), Ajax utters a much briefer and blunter speech, full of indignation at Achilles' stubbornness (624–42). Although this attempt at conciliation, too, is a failure, there is a clear contrast between the reception which Achilles accords it (644–5) and his scornful words to the diplomatic Odysseus (308–13). The episode emphasises the difference between Ajax and Odysseus in the deployment of *uerba*. It provides, too, a striking contrast with the reception given to the two speeches in Ovid.

(*b*) At *Il.* 11.411–88 Ajax rescues Odysseus when he is oppressed by weight of numbers.[36] Odysseus has up to that point been fighting with great vigour, and has been wounded; but mighty Ajax is described as causing immediate panic among the Trojans, who scatter when he appears (485–6). Here, in a matter of *facta*, Odysseus is upstaged by his future rival.

(*c*) At the funeral games for Patroclus in Book 23 of the *Iliad*, Ajax

[34] Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος *Il.* 2.169, *al.*; ποικιλομήτης 11.482; πολύμητις 1.311, 440, 3.200, *al.*; πολυμήχανος 2.173, etc.

[35] See 98n.

[36] See 63–81n.

and Odysseus compete for the prize in wrestling (700–39). Odysseus is introduced as 'crafty' and 'cunning' (709).[37] After an initial deadlock, Ajax tries to lift Odysseus, who 'did not forget his guile' (725) in making Ajax fall backwards; in a second bout they again fall together. Achilles prevents a third bout, and declares the contest a draw (735–7). The rules for the wrestling are never set out, and it is unclear whether Odysseus ends with a technical advantage; but it does look as if he is beginning to get the upper hand. Some have felt that Achilles stops the contest because Ajax is about to lose – see on (*a*) above for his partiality. In any case, this contest in *facta* seems in some ways to prefigure the contest in *uerba* which in a later poem took place over the arms of Achilles. Wrestling is a trial of strength in which brain can however overcome brawn.

(*d*) In Book 11 of the *Odyssey*, Odysseus tells how in the Underworld he met various ghosts, and among them Ajax:

> The only soul that stood aloof was that of Ajax son of Telamon. He was still embittered by the defeat I had inflicted on him at the ships in the contest for the arms of Achilles, whose divine mother had offered them as a prize, with the Trojan captives and Pallas for judges. I wish I had never won such a prize – the arms that brought Ajax to his grave, the heroic Ajax, who in looks and valour surpassed all the Danaans [Greeks] except the handsome son of Peleus [Achilles]. I called to him now, and sought to placate him:
>
> 'Ajax, son of noble Telamon; could not even death itself make you forget your anger with me on account of those fatal arms? It was the gods that made them a curse to us Argives. What a tower of strength we lost when you fell! We have never ceased to mourn your death as truly as we lament Achilles, Peleus' son. No one else is to blame but Zeus, that bitter foe of the Danaan army. He it was who brought you to your doom. Draw near, my lord, and hear what I have to say. Curb your anger and conquer your obstinate pride.'
>
> So I spoke. He made no reply but went away into Erebus to join the souls of the other dead. (11.543–62[38])

[37] πολύμητις ... κέρδεα εἰδώς. [38] Trans. Rieu–Rieu–Jones (1991).

Here again Odysseus makes a conciliatory speech, implying regret at having won the arms, carefully avoiding mention of Ajax' inglorious madness and suicide, praising the hero as a 'tower of strength' (556), and attempting to transfer the blame for the affair to Zeus. The speech is no more successful than that which he delivered to Achilles in Ajax' presence (passage (*a*)) – less so, in fact, since it does not even elicit a reply, and Ajax stalks off in silence. That silence can be read in several ways; but one implication might be that Ajax, not naturally a man of words, is disgusted to hear again the words of Odysseus, which were the instrument of his defeat in the contest over Achilles' arms.[39] There is now nothing for him to do, and he has nothing to say.

It is clear from these passages that the contrast between the clever, resourceful, and articulate Odysseus and the brave Ajax of few words is already present in the Homeric poems. Greeks of the sixth and later centuries also had access to a collection of hexameter poems now lost, the so-called Epic Cycle. These works, composed, or at least committed to writing, later than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, set out to supplement those two poems by recording what occurred before, between, and after the events recorded in them. The contest over the arms of Achilles, alluded to already at *Od.* 11.543–62 (passage (*d*) above),[40] was described at length in the *Aethiopis*, a poem designed to follow on from the end of the *Iliad*, and in the *Little Iliad*, which seems to have recorded some of the same events as the *Aethiopis*.[41] We do not know what account of the contest was given in the *Aethiopis*; possibly Trojan prisoners of war were asked to adjudicate.[42] In the *Little Iliad* scouts were sent under the walls of Troy to eavesdrop on conversations about the bravery of Ajax and Odysseus; they

[39] It is assumed here that δικαζόμενος παρὰ νηυσί (545) implies a pleading of cases.

[40] Book 11 is probably a late addition to the *Odyssey*, and line 547 may be even later (it was deleted by the Alexandrian critic Aristarchus); but the addition is likely to predate the Epic Cycle.

[41] Davies (1989) 62–3.

[42] Schol. on *Il.* 11.547, where παῖδες Τρώων, translated 'Trojan captives' by Rieu–Rieu–Jones (1991) but literally meaning 'children of the Trojans', is of uncertain reference.

overheard two girls arguing, the first saying that Ajax was superior because he had carried Achilles' body out of the battle, and the other confuting her by saying that even a woman could carry a burden, but only a great warrior could have fought off the Trojans and covered Ajax' retreat.[43] Another version of the story will have had the Greek commanders themselves vote after hearing the respective claims of Ajax and Odysseus;[44] that is the version followed by most later writers.[45]

The poets of the Epic Cycle presented an Odysseus less admirable than the character depicted in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In the *Cypria* was told the story of his feigning madness in an attempt to avoid war service;[46] his trick was detected by Palamedes, whose death he later contrived through a false accusation. The *Little Iliad*, as well as relating the contest over the arms, told how, when Odysseus and Diomedes were returning to the Greek camp having stolen from Troy the Palladium, a sacred talisman, Odysseus tried to stab Diomedes in the back in order to take all credit for the escapade for himself.[47] In the *Sack of Troy* it was Odysseus who committed the barbarous act of killing Astyanax, the infant son of Hector.

When Greek tragic poets composed plays set during the Trojan War, they for the most part drew their plots from the Epic Cycle rather than from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and the Odysseus of Greek tragedy is often a cynical and unscrupulous character.[48] Sophocles' *Philoctetes* and the *Hecuba* of Euripides show him in unprincipled mode, and Euripides' lost *Palamedes* must have been in the same vein. Throughout antiquity Odysseus' complex mixture of abilities and characteristics continued to evoke admiration in some, hostility in others.[49]

Only six lines survive of the play or trilogy of plays by Aeschylus

[43] *Little Iliad* F2^{A} Davies.

[44] Ovid has an open vote (382 *mota manus procerum est*); Pindar speaks of a secret ballot (*Nem.* 8.26 κρυφίαισι . . . ἐν ψάφοις). Cf. Soph. *Ajax* 1135.

[45] And this scenario might well be implied by *Od.* 11.545–6, if line 547 is to be deleted.

[46] See 34–42n.

[47] For further details of these episodes see 34–42, 38, 105–6nn.

[48] His portrayal in Sophocles' *Ajax* is, however, an exception.

[49] Stanford (1963) *passim*.

entitled *The Judgement of Arms*,[50] which almost certainly included a formal debate between Ajax and Odysseus. Plays entitled *Ajax* or *Ajax mad* are attested for the fourth-century tragedians Astydamas, Carcinus and Theodectas.[51] It may be that, like the *Ajax* of Sophocles, these dealt with the aftermath of the judgement and with Ajax' madness; but Theodectas at least was a well known rhetorician who might be expected to have included a debate scene.[52]

It was in the second half of the fifth century that the theory and practice of rhetoric became important and controversial topics; from that time until the end of antiquity rhetoric continued to be studied in schools and taught by professionals. An important part of rhetorical education consisted in training speakers to argue both sides of a case with equal facility; and the contest over Achilles' arms provided an ideal setting, sanctioned by the high authority of Homer, for exercises in the schools and for practitioners of rhetoric to display their ingenuity in inventing, arranging, and articulating arguments. One such pair of declamatory speeches survives under the name of Antisthenes (mid fifth to mid fourth cent.), the pupil of Gorgias and friend of Socrates.[53] Already in Antisthenes' *Ajax* are found many of the points made against Ulysses in the Ovidian version: the contrast between words and deeds[54], the charge that Odysseus operates only under cover of darkness (§§3, 6) and that he does nothing openly (§5), the reference to his attempt to avoid conscription (§9), and the scornful observation that he would not dare to wear the arms of Achilles (§3).[55] Antisthenes' *Odysseus* bears less relation to Ovid's version, and it twice refers rather clumsily to Ajax' future suicide; but Odysseus makes much of his stealing the Palladium (§3) and claims that he alone captured Troy (§14).[56]

Only brief fragments remain of Roman tragedies on the theme:

[50] Ὅπλων κρίσις; *TGF* F 174–8 Radt. See 31–2n.
[51] *TGF* 60 F 1a, 70 F 1a, 72 F 1 Snell.
[52] *TGF* 72 T 1 = Suidas θ 138, II 692 Adler.
[53] Radermacher (1951) 122–6; Giannantoni (1990) II 157–61.
[54] §1 ποία τις ἂν δίκη δικαστῶν ... γένοιτο ... διὰ λόγων; τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα ἐγίγνετο ἔργῳ, §7.
[55] See lines 9–12, 15, 34–42, 63–5, 92, 100–16.
[56] Cf. lines 333–49, especially 349 *Pergama tunc uici, cum uinci posse coegi* ~ Antisth. §14 μόνον [ἐμὲ] τὴν Τροίαν ἑλόντα.

Ennius (third/second century) composed an *Ajax*, Pacuvius (second century) and Accius (second/first century) plays entitled *Armorum iudicium*. The influence of Republican tragedy on Ovid is a controversial subject,[57] but some verbal similarities between his version and the surviving fragments are mentioned in the notes on lines 3–4, 19–20, 31, 37, 52–4, 54, 83 and 410.

Topics for debate, in Latin called *controuersiae*, were a staple feature of Roman as of Greek rhetorical education, and the contest over the arms no doubt continued to provide practice for debate. We know that Ovid included a particularly felicitous idea from one of his teachers, M. Porcius Latro, at the end of Ajax' speech (120–3n.). Most of the points made by the two speakers will have seemed commonplaces; and it is noteworthy that neither is made to go into any detail about the recovery of the arms and of the body of Achilles.[58] It is the way in which Ovid has characterised Ajax and Ulysses, and his choice and ordering of their arguments, that are of prime importance.

Rhetorical aspects of the speeches

Professional rhetoricians brought method to the art of good speaking, but they were not the first to speak well. Greek and Roman handbooks acknowledge Homer to be the fount and source of all excellence in speaking[59] and detect already in Homer the three styles of eloquence, the grand, the middle and the simple,[60] identified by some with Ulysses, Nestor and Menelaus respectively: Ulysses, according to Quintilian, was supremely eloquent, having *magnitudo uocis, uis orationis, copia uerborum* and *impetus*.[61] However, the same author concedes that the best speakers will use all three styles as appropriate; orators

[57] See Currie (1981) 2721, 2725–6.

[58] Nor indeed does Ovid in his summary of events at the end of Book 12. Ulysses briefly gives details (which are open to question) at lines 280–5.

[59] Quint. 10.1.46–51.

[60] Called *grauis*, *mediocris* and *attenuata* at *Ad Her.* 4.11; see the note of Caplan (1954) for a brief discussion of their origin.

[61] Quint. 12.10.64. On the contrast between the styles of Menelaus and Ulysses see 125–7n.

must above all select the style and presentation most likely to be effective in the circumstances.[62] In particular, a stylistic distinction is to be made between the emotional and the intellectual, between those speeches aimed at exciting a crowd and those designed to elicit the considered approval of senators or judges.[63] In Ovid's version of the Judgement of Arms, one reason for Ulysses' victory is that he addresses himself to those who will decide the issue, while Ajax appeals to the rank and file, who have no vote.[64] Some have seen Ajax' speech as bad, characterising him as a dolt and a thug;[65] but it would be surprising if it were obviously inferior to that of Ulysses, since the whole point of rhetorical exercises of this kind was to produce the best possible arguments for each side. The difference is not so much of matter as of manner: Ajax' speech is good of its kind, but its kind is the wrong kind.[66]

Each claimant states his case and criticises his opponent. Although Ulysses puts forward some claims to be a man of action, the contest is at bottom one between deeds and words, action and counsel, brain and brawn, indirect and direct influence on events.[67] What have to be evaluated are the relative merits of often unheroic but vitally necessary actions on one hand and heroically direct action on the other. Both are indispensable, and the choice between them is invidious. That the contest is conducted through the medium of words gives a decisive advantage to Ulysses: he is seen using on his own behalf that persuasive power which he so often put at the service of the Greeks. Is he wise, or merely clever? Is his speech more than a *tour de force* of advocacy? Ovid makes no unequivocal judgement on the matter. His brief verdict is *quid facundia posset | re patuit, fortisque uiri tulit arma disertus* (382–3). It is possible to see here a continuation

[62] Quint. 12.10.69; cf. Cic. *Orator* 24, 100–1, 123 *is erit ergo eloquens, qui ad id quodcumque decebit poterit accommodare orationem*, *De orat.* 3.212.

[63] Cic. *Brutus* 164–5, *Orator* 21, Quint. 11.1.45 *quis uero nesciat quanto aliud dicendi genus poscat grauitas senatoria, aliud aura popularis?*

[64] Cf. 2, 123 *uulgi* ~ 126 *proceres*, 382; cf. 1n.

[65] Bömer (1982) 199 lists those critics.

[66] Bömer thinks the transition in line 63 forced, and *amico* in line 69 unfortunate in the context; but these hardly seem to be obtrusively clumsy.

[67] The fundamental contrast between *facta* and *uerba* (9–12) is complemented by that between *ficta* and *uera* (9, 67).

of the contrast drawn by Ajax between deeds and mere words,[68] but also to see an admiring reference to the power of eloquence. Many ancient readers, products themselves of an education in rhetoric, will have enjoyed the contrasting performances without feeling a need to decide between them; some modern readers will reach a preference using the criteria of the *uulgus* or the *proceres*. But Ovid's works are not written for the *uulgus*, and his range, cleverness and verbal dexterity make him in some ways a complement to Ulysses.[69] Ajax is characterised as the traditional no-nonsense hero, conservative, die-hard, entrenched, durable and intransigent – not a person to welcome change. Ulysses' very faults, by contrast, aid his success. Ajax characterises him as changeable, shifty, inconstant, pliable, slippery, and tergiversatory.[70] Who fitter to win victory in a new and sophisticated poem about metamorphosis?

Ajax

A passage of Quintilian casts interesting light on Ajax' performance:

> ne hoc quidem negauerim, sequi plerumque hanc opinionem, ut fortius dicere uideantur indocti, primum uitio male iudicantium, qui maiorem habere uim credunt ea quae non habent artem, ut effringere quam aperire, rumpere quam soluere, trahere quam ducere putant robustius. nam et gladiator, qui armorum inscius in rixam ruit et luctator, qui totius corporis nisu in id quod semel inuasit incumbit fortior ab his uocatur; cum interim et hic frequenter suis uiribus ipse prosternitur et illum uehementis impetus excipit aduersarii mollis articulus.

> I must, however, admit that the general opinion is that the untrained speaker is usually the more vigorous. The opinion is due primarily to the erroneous judgement of faulty critics, who

[68] Or even possibly to refer *fortisque uiri* to Ajax: 'Ulysses carried off the arms which ought to have been granted to Ajax.'

[69] See Otis (1970) 285, Duc (1994) 130–1.

[70] Cf. 81, 112, 115, and especially 224 *cum tu terga dares*, 237 *dantem terga*, where the accusation is turned against Ajax.

> think that true vigour is all the greater for its lack of art, regarding it as a special proof of strength to force what might be opened, to break what might be untied and to drag what might be led. Even a gladiator who plunges into the fight with no skill at arms to help him, and a wrestler who puts forth the whole strength of his body the moment he has got a hold, is acclaimed by them for his outstanding vigour, although it is of frequent occurrence in such cases for the latter to be overthrown by his own strength and for the former to find the fury of his onslaught parried by his adversary with a simple turn of the wrist. (*Inst. orat.* 2.12.1–2[71])

The *indocti* – Ovid's *uulgi* ... *corona* (1) – prefer the vigour of an unpractised speaker more like themselves; but force without art is often not enough. The image from wrestling is particularly apt in the light of *Il.* 23.700–39, where cunning Odysseus throws the brawny Ajax (passage (*b*) above).[72] In the case of Ajax, the style is the man:[73] Ovid represents him as direct and straight-talking, as befits a warrior,[74] but also as a forceful and violent speaker who can barely control his passions – the denouement of the story, his madness and suicide, are thus foreshadowed in his speech.[75] He is by no means deficient in rhetorical power, however.[76] Although he begins with disconcerting

[71] Trans. Butler (1921–2). Cf. Quint. 11.3.10–11 (some think the *rudis* to be *fortior* as a speaker).

[72] That similarity may be more than coincidence: if Homer is the fountainhead of rhetoric, then those who wrote rhetorical theory may be expected to have had Homer constantly in mind when defining figures and types of style. To that extent, there is an element of circularity in showing that Ajax and Ulysses are effective orators: the fact that they are speaking in a hexameter epic poem means that they will express themselves in language already influenced by epic (= 'rhetorical') language. This qualification does not, however, mean that it is impossible to distinguish between the two: differences of emphasis exist within the overall rhetorical framework of Ovidian style.

[73] Quint. 11.1.30 *Graeci prodiderunt, ut uiuat, quemque etiam dicere.*

[74] Quint. 11.1.32 *simpliciora militares decent.*

[75] Quint. 7.4.31 *ira et concitatio furori sunt similia*; Nisbet–Hubbard (1970) on Hor. *Carm.* 1.16.5.

[76] He is, for example, given no solecisms or obvious awkwardnesses of expression (see n. 66).

vehemence, which is perhaps a miscalculation,[77] his first words are powerful enough to merit citation by Quintilian as a good example of the 'argument from place',[78] and he employs effectively arguments and figures recommended by the handbooks: the establishment of good character on the basis of one's ancestors,[79] the use of irony and sarcasm,[80] rhetorical questions,[81] strikingly phrased or paradoxical ideas at period-end (*sententiae*),[82] and exclamation by way of climax (*epiphōnema*).[83] The disproportion and lack of organisation of his speech make it a character-study (*ēthopoiiā*) in indignation.

Ulysses

Speaking second, Ulysses can counter Ajax' charges and make his own without contradiction.[84] According to Quintilian, however, refutation is more difficult than accusation, partly because the accuser has a specific and simple charge to make, while 'the defence requires a thousand arts and variations';[85] 'consequently', he continues, 'quite moderate speakers have proved adequate in prosecution, while no one can be a good counsel for the defence unless he possesses real eloquence'.[86] The 'arts and variations' required in a reply such as this are Ulyssean characteristics. As was observed above, the two speeches differ more in manner than in rhetorical skill. There is nothing extraordinary about the arrangement of Ulysses' material: after a brief exordium (lacking in Ajax' more emotional speech) he replies to Ajax' first developed point (21–33), the charge of dubious

[77] Cic. *De orat.* 1.119 'even the best orators ... unless they are diffident in approaching a discourse and diffident in beginning it, seem to border on the shameless'; *Ad Her.* 3.22 *quid insuauius quam clamor in exordio causae?* Cf. 125–7n.

[78] Quint. 5.10.40–1: see 5–8n.

[79] Lines 21–33; Quint. 5.10.24.

[80] Quint. 6.2.15, 8.6.56–7.

[81] Quint. 9.2.7–16.

[82] Lines 19–20, 41–2, 62, 97, etc.; Quint. 8.5.1–34.

[83] Line 122; Quint. 8.5.11.

[84] In real cases, according to Quintilian, the order was decided 'either by some brutally rigid formula, or by the character of the suit, or finally by lot' (7.1.37).

[85] Quint. 5.13.2 (*mille flexus et artes desiderantur*).

[86] Quint. 5.13.3.

ancestry (140–58), before moving on to an ordered account of his good deeds (159–267) and a refutation of Ajax' other charges (268–338); his conclusion (370–81) is much less abrupt than that of Ajax (120–2). The overall effect is one of modesty, control, delicacy and personal superiority, all qualities recommended by the theorists. Ulysses is a man of literally disarming rhetorical skill.

Ulysses first pauses to gather himself. This is an allusion to a famous passage in the *Iliad*, which Quintilian cites when he recommends to orators a brief period for thought before speaking.[87] Ulysses begins not with a claim to the arms, but with a wish that their owner were still alive (128–30); he modestly refers to his own eloquence with the hope that it will not be held against him (137), and next rebuts the aspersions cast on his family; Quintilian, in discussing how to open a speech, recommends early reference to an argument of one's opponent in order to produce an effect of extemporisation and allay suspicions that one's speech is over-prepared.[88] In describing his role in the sacrifice of Iphigenia, Ulysses delicately draws attention to the difficulty of the position in which he found himself; the author of the treatise *Ad Herennium* discusses statements of this sort in his section on how to palliate frankness of speech.[89] When he comes to describe his exploits in battle, Ulysses reveals his scars earned in the Greek cause; this was a recognised practice in Roman courts.[90] In defending himself against the charge of cruelty towards Philoctetes, he implicates the judges in his actions and implies that they and he are natural allies against Ajax (314).[91] His concluding emotional appeal is brief; although it is couched in the form of a prayer, it suggests that he might withdraw his indispensable talents if he is unsuccessful (375–80).

In the *Iliad* Odysseus is the finest of speakers, and the Ovidian Ulysses proves equally irresistible. He controls in masterly fashion

[87] *Il.* 3.216–23, Quint. 11.3.157: see 125–7n., and cf. Quint. 10.7.22–3. No doubt the Homeric passage suggested this advice to early rhetorical theorists.

[88] Quint. 4.1.54.

[89] Lines 189–90; *Ad Her.* 4.49. Cf. Quint. 11.1.87 'we shall make up for our censure by praising our victims in some other connexion'.

[90] Lines 264–5; Quint. 2.15.7, 6.1.21, Cic. *De orat.* 2.124, 194–6; see further 262–5n.

[91] Quint. 3.7.25 *maxime fauet iudex, qui sibi dicentem assentari putat.*

the pace and emotional intensity of his speech, which is by turns pleading and assertive, mournful and cheerful, self-depreciatory and confident. Never excessive, it is a speech calculated to appeal to judges versed in rhetorical theory, a supreme example of adapting one's words to the circumstances. In behaviour, too, Ulysses is of course himself the great exemplar of adaptability.

4. LINES 408–571: HECUBA

At the beginning of the third book of the *Aeneid* Aeneas tells how the Trojans, fleeing the destruction of their city, disembarked in Thrace and began to found a new city there. Aeneas pulled up some shoots of myrtle and cornel as decoration for his altars, and drops of blood came from the broken stems. From beneath the ground the voice of Priam's young son Polydorus said that the shoots had grown from the spears with which he had been murdered. Aeneas relates how Polydorus had been sent for safety to the 'Thracian king' (51), who had killed him through lust for gold. When consulted about the bloody omen, the Trojans decided immediately to set sail once more and 'leave the crime-stained land' (60 *scelerata excedere terra*).

At the beginning of his extended story of Hecuba, Ovid makes verbal allusions to the brief Virgilian account.[92] Two further aspects of his relationship to Virgil seem particularly noteworthy. First, it is remarkable that Ovid does not adopt the Virgilian version of Polydorus' death, since the transformation of the spears into shoots is one of the few metamorphoses in the *Aeneid*. This may be seen as a further aspect of his frequent aim to supplement well-known earlier accounts, and to avoid direct comparisons:[93] he has, for example, no extended description of the changeful Proteus, archetype of metamorphosis, who is prominent in Book 4 of the *Odyssey*. The second point is related to the first. Ovid avoids reproducing not only the metamorphoses described by Homer and Virgil, but also the events which they narrate.[94] Here he supplements the *Aeneid* first by telling

[92] See 429, 431, 435, 436nn.

[93] Cf. pp. 30, 32. He does, however, provide his own version of the transformation of Aeneas' ships into nymphs (*Aen.* 9.77–122) at 14.546–58. At *Am.* 3.12.41 he refers to that episode as an instance of the *fecunda licentia uatum*.

[94] See further pp. 30–2.

at much greater length the story summarised briefly by Virgil, and then by continuing it: Virgil had Aeneas leave Thrace when he heard Polydorus, but Ovid stays to describe the denouement.

Hecuba, the queen reduced to slavery, had long been an exemplar of the vicissitudes of fortune,[95] and her change from felicity to misery (483–7, 508–10) may be seen in this poem as another form of metamorphosis. Ovid bases his narrative quite clearly on a single source,[96] Euripides' tragedy *Hecuba*, the plot of which is as follows:

> The scene lies on the coast of Thrace. The prologue is spoken by the ghost of Polydorus, youngest son of Priam and Hecuba, who tells how for safety he was sent away from Troy to the court of the Thracian king Polymestor; how, when Troy fell, Polymestor killed him for the sake of the money sent for his upkeep, and threw his body into the sea; and how the ghost of Achilles has appeared to the Greeks and demanded the sacrifice of Polyxena, daughter of Priam and Hecuba; Polydorus predicts that Hecuba will thus in a single day see the corpses of two of her children. Hecuba enters, disturbed by a recent dream; she is followed by the chorus of Trojan women, who report that Odysseus is about to fetch Polyxena for sacrifice. Polyxena enters, and is told of her fate by Hecuba; then Odysseus appears. In a formal *agōn* Hecuba appeals to him with both personal and logical arguments, but in vain. Polyxena chooses to die, and leaves willingly with Odysseus; after a choral interlude the messenger Talthybius describes how her noble behaviour at the sacrifice affected all the Greeks with pity and admiration. Hecuba prepares to receive the body, and sends an old serving-woman to fetch water; after another choral ode the woman returns to announce that on the seashore she has found the body

[95] Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 58, 284–5, 488–500, etc., *Tro.* 474–99, Mossman (1995) 216–19; Shakespeare, *Hamlet* Act II, Scene 2, lines 496–501 '... a clout upon that head, Where late the diadem stood ... Who this had seen, with tongue in venom steeped, 'Gainst Fortune's state would treason have pronounced.'

[96] Bömer speculates about possible influence on Ovid of the *Alexander* and *Hecuba* of Ennius, the *Hecuba* of Accius, and the *Iliona* of Pacuvius, but the evidence is very slender. See pp. 15–16 for the likelihood of Roman tragedy having influenced Ovid's *Armorum iudicium*.

> of Polydorus. Hecuba realises that the murderer is Polymestor. Agamemnon enters, and Hecuba makes a long and passionate appeal to him for revenge on Polymestor; he refuses to take direct action, but allows Hecuba to plan revenge for herself. She sends a Trojan woman to summon Polymestor and his sons to the women's tents. After the next chorus they arrive. Polymestor reassures her that her son is safe; she, matching deception with deception, promises to tell him privately where more gold is hidden. He enters the tent, and soon stumbles out again, blinded. Agamemnon returns, and Polymestor tells him how the women put out his eyes with brooch-pins and murdered his sons. Hecuba refutes the claim of Polymestor that he killed her son as a favour to the Greeks, and Agamemnon judges that he has been justly punished. At the end of the play the blind and baffled king recalls a prophecy of Dionysus that Hecuba will turn into a dog and jump into the sea from the masthead of a ship, and that her grave, Cynossema, will be a sighting point for sailors. He also prophesies Agamemnon's murder by his wife; upon which Agamemnon condemns him to be left on a desert island. Hecuba departs to bury her children, and all prepare for the voyage to Greece.

The characters and events of Greek tragedy were derived mostly from the Epic Cycle[97] and other early epic poems. Ovid puts a tragedy of epic origin[98] back within the framework of epic; verbal references make it obvious that the *Hecuba* is his source.[99] This placing of a tragic episode within the epic is one more example of the all-inclusiveness of the *Metamorphoses*, a work which on a poetic level provides a fittingly changeful complement for its subject-matter.[100]

Ovid's re-epicising of the tragic plot results in a greater directness. Partly owing to the dramatic convention which did not allow violent

[97] See pp. 13–14.

[98] This version of the sacrifice of Polyxena was told in the Cyclic *Sack of Troy*.

[99] See 442, 450, 451, 453, 457–73, 463, 464, 470–1, 475, 479–80, 494, 509–10, 514–15, 552–3nn. Euripides appears to have been the first to link the stories of Polyxena and Polydorus.

[100] See pp. 4–6.

action to be shown on stage, much in Euripides' play is reported through the mouths of characters: the ghost of Polydorus sets the scene, the old serving-woman tells how she found his corpse, Talthybius reports the sacrifice, and Polymestor describes his own blinding and the murder of his sons. In Ovid's version the narrator takes over the exposition of Polydorus and the descriptive function of Polymestor, and Talthybius and the serving-woman disappear.[101] Two further omissions are noteworthy. First, Odysseus is kept out of the story, even though his function in Euripides as bringer of bad news and self-styled factotum for unpleasant tasks is just such as he dwelt on in his claim to the arms of Achilles.[102] Secondly, neither the *agōn* between Hecuba and Odysseus nor that between her and Polymestor is reproduced by Ovid. Both these omissions must result from a desire to vary presentation and characters after the Judgement of Arms. Agamemnon, too, is omitted, and Hecuba is given a different setting for her metamorphosis: she becomes a dog not at sea but on the coast of Thrace, and Ovid makes no mention of her leap from the masthead.[103] As in the Judgement of Arms, the chief focus of the episode is not metamorphosis but words, this time the lament of Hecuba (481–532); the rest of the story is not dwelt on at length.[104]

No extant work earlier than the *Hecuba* refers to the canine metamorphosis,[105] but it is unlikely that the story was invented by Euripides. In Book 24 of the *Iliad* Hecuba speaks of her son Hector, killed and dishonoured in death by Achilles; she calls Achilles an 'eater of raw flesh' (207 ὠμηστής), describes how dogs are being allowed to eat the corpse of her son, and wishes that in revenge she might be able to devour Achilles' liver (209–13). It is possible that the close metaphorical link in that passage between Hecuba and dogs was

[101] On the further effect of increased degradation for Hecuba in having to fetch water for herself, see 533–5n.

[102] E.g. lines 375–80.

[103] See further 569–70n.

[104] See e.g. 558–64n.

[105] It seems very likely, however, that the anonymous lyric fragment *PMG* 965, quoted by Dio, *Orat.* 33.59, antedates Euripides' play: '... a dog with blazing eyes; and Mt Ida and sea-girt Tenedos and the windswept rocks of Thrace heard her brazen voice as she let out cries from her aged jaws'.

elaborated by some later poet into a literal metamorphosis. In the *Hecuba* the transformation is foreshadowed by Polymestor's description of the women as 'foul, murderous bitches' (1173 μιαιφόνους κύνας), and it is he who makes the prophecy: Hecuba will become what, in his view at least, she resembled whilst still a human being. Similarly in Ovid's account her snarling savagery is emphasised as one aspect of the resemblance (567 *rauco cum murmure saxum | morsibus insequitur*)[106]; but so too is her unhappiness (571 *ululauit maesta*).[107] As is often the case with metamorphoses, her new state is both a change and a continuation. Ovid diverges from the Euripidean version of her death by drowning as his account draws quickly towards its close: the location of Polymestor's death is not specified, and the response of the Thracians follows at once (565); it seems more suitable for the pace of the narrative for the transformation to take place there and then.

The Ovidian Hecuba resembles her Euripidean predecessor in being a mistress of the telling phrase: not only in the *Hecuba*, but also in the *Troades*, she had appeared in scenes bearing the mark of contemporary developments in rhetoric and argument.[108] As queen reduced to slavery and as slave who can kill a king,[109] as mother who survives her own children and, even more unnaturally, as grandmother who survives her own grandson, she is a focus for pity and paradox, and her speech is a *tour de force* of elegant and sententious rhetoric: still alive, she utters a kind of lament on her own behalf; her daughter Polyxena, though a woman, fell by the sword (497–8) and was killed by a dead man (501–2); she gave birth only to provide victims for the Greeks (505, 516); Priam is more fortunate dead than she is alive (519–22); already as she utters it her one consolation is

[106] Ancient scholars had already used Hecuba's rabid savagery to account for her transformation: Cic. *Tusc.* 3.63 *Hecubam autem putant propter animi acerbitatem quandam et rabiem fingi in canem esse conuersam.*

[107] This, too, was seen as a possible explanation by ancient scholars: Dio, *Orat.* 11.154 'how ridiculous that she is said to have turned into a dog because of the enormity of her sorrows' (ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν κακῶν), 33.59 (see n. 105).

[108] Particularly memorable in this regard is her speech against Helen, full of anachronistic sophistical points, at *Tro.* 969–1032.

[109] The phrase *captiuarum agmina* in line 560 highlights this point.

false, since she resolves to live on in order to be with a child who in fact is already dead (527–30). Though apparently powerless, Hecuba turns out to be powerful, like Ulysses, in both *uerba* and *facta*.

5. LINES 576–622: MEMNON

Only Aurora had no time to feel pity for Hecuba's fate: she was grieving for her son Memnon, killed by Achilles, and as a result the bright light of day was dimmed. The sight of Memnon's pyre prompted her to beg Jupiter for some mark of honour for her son in return for her unrecognised daily duty of bringing the dawn. Jupiter made the smoke of Memnon's pyre take the form of a bird; then a whole flock took shape. They flew noisily round the pyre, parted into two groups, attacked each other, and fell dead as offerings on the ashes. Each year these birds re-enact their self-sacrifice at the site of the tomb; and the dew, which accompanies each dawn, is Aurora's tears.

In theme the passage forms a transition between the Hecuba and Anius episodes. All three concern bereaved and grieving parents;[110] Hecuba and Aurora are united as grieving mothers; Memnon and the Memnonidae, and Anius' daughters, are metamorphosed into birds. Thus, although it may be seen as a coda to the Trojan section of the poem, the Memnon episode is also a bridge between episodes deriving from the Epic Cycle and those inspired by the *Aeneid*. The fact that it is far from its proper place in the narrative (Memnon was killed by Achilles, who is already dead by the end of Book 12) proves that Ovid was prepared to sacrifice chronology to other organisational principles.

Ovid's account is the first treatment of the story to survive, and it is hardly possible to assess the extent of his originality. His description of the metamorphosis may owe something to the hexametric *Ornithogonia* ('Origins of birds') of the Hellenistic poet Boeo or Boeus, to a prose work *On birds* by Callimachus, or to the poem on the same subject by M. Aemilius Macer.[111] The best-known account of Mem-

[110] The theme is emphasised by verbal repetition: at line 547 Hecuba is *orbata*; at 595 Aurora is *orba*; and at 647 Anius is *paene* . . . *orbum*.

[111] *Tr.* 4.10.43. On Boeo or Boeus and Macer see p. 1.

non and his deeds was the *Aethiopis*, a poem of the Epic Cycle (see p. 13, 280–5n., 501n.) attributed to Arctinus, which took up the Trojan narrative from the end of the *Iliad*.[112] It told, amongst other episodes, of the arrival of the Ethiopian king Memnon, son of Eos (Aurora) and Tithonus, to help the Trojans, his killing of Antilochus, son of Nestor, and Achilles' killing of Memnon in revenge; there seems to have been no metamorphosis, and Memnon was granted immortality. Of Aeschylus' plays *Memnon* and *Psychostasia* ('Weighing of souls') we know virtually nothing, except that the latter contained a scene, modelled on famous passages in the *Iliad*, in which Zeus weighed in the balance the fates of Achilles and Memnon during their combat, while their mothers stood by.[113] Sophocles wrote an *Ethiopians* and a *Memnon*, but their plots are not known.[114] The earliest association of Memnon with birds comes in figurative art: a vase of about 540 BC shows Eos lamenting the dead Memnon with a bird in the background, and in the Hall of the Cnidians at Delphi (mid fifth century) the painter Polygnotus depicted Memnon wearing a cloak decorated with birds.[115] But no extant source tells the story as Ovid does. The only other surviving poetic treatment, that of Quintus Smyrnaeus (third century AD), has Eos herself change Memnon's Ethiopian warriors into birds which sprinkle dust on his tomb and kill each other; other sources refer to an annual cleansing and purifying of the tomb by the birds, or (like Ovid) to an annual fight;[116] various places claimed his grave.

The bird *memnon* or *memnonis* is usually identified with the ruff, *Philomachus pugnax*, on the basis of its fighting habits: male ruffs gather in customary places to display and to fight for dominance.[117]

[112] On this poem see Davies (1989) 53–61.

[113] *Il.* 8.68–74, 22.208–13; Aesch. *TGF* F 127–30, 279–80a Radt. It cannot be ruled out that the weighing of souls was related already in the *Aethiopis*; but see Davies (1989) 57 for the difficulties involved in this assumption. It seems possible that *sic uos uoluistis* (597) may refer to the scene of divine decision on Olympus. The speech of Aurora probably owes more, however, to the Homeric Thetis than to the Aeschylean Eos (see 587–99n.).

[114] *TGF* F 28–33 and p. 347 Radt.

[115] Paus. 10.31.5–6. See in general *LIMC* VI 1.448–62 (esp. 460–2), II 230–8.

[116] Q.S. 2.643–55; Paus. *loc. cit.*; Aelian, *On animals* 5.1.

[117] Thompson (1936) 200–1, Capponi (1979) 322–4.

The whole question of name and identification is, however, very confused. It is not clear whether there existed a bird called *memnon* which at some stage came to be aetiologically associated with the hero of the same name, or whether the bird was of mythical origin and only later came to be associated with a real pugnacious species.[118] Another problem is the sex of the birds. Ovid's are female, 'sisters' of the dead man (608), but in Aelian they are male – and that would accord better with both ruff behaviour and the warrior actions of the birds at Troy. It seems likely that in having his birds female Ovid demonstrates either ornithological ignorance or (more likely) that he is following a source which made them sisters; it may be relevant, too, that the ordinary Latin words for 'bird', *auis* and *uolucris*, are feminine, and that the theme of female grief is to the fore in the persons of Hecuba and Aurora. But, in spite of the lack of sexual correspondence, it is clear that the birds' behaviour is to be seen as a commemorative re-enactment of the fight between Achilles and Memnon;[119] superimposed on the picture is gladiatorial imagery which evokes the Roman tradition of contests at funeral games and at the Parentalia (612–19n.).

6. LINES 632–704: ANIUS AND HIS DAUGHTERS

The Trojans are welcomed by Anius, who is king of Delos, priest of Delian Apollo, and an old friend of Anchises. After making an offer-

[118] Aelian, who gives a longer description of the bird than most sources, says 'from their shape you would say that they were hawks' (*On animals* 5.1); that hardly fits the ruff. The cleansing and purifying of Memnon's tomb related by other authors (see n. 116) makes the birds more like the Ovidian Meleagrides (*Met.* 8.533–46) or the Bird of Diomedes (? Great Shearwater), which is said by Pliny to asperse the tomb of Diomedes with its dripping wings (*Nat.* 10.126–7; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11.271–4, Ovid, *Met.* 14.483–509). (According to the same writer, however, the Meleagrides, too, fight over a tomb: *Nat.* 10.74.)

[119] Correspondence with the duel would be closer still if *populi* (612) could be taken as gen. sing. rather than nom. pl. The words *duo* ... *feroces* would then refer to two battling birds: '... on the fourth flight they move their forces to one side; then two fierce birds from different parts of the host wage war ...', rather than '... on the fourth flight they divide their forces; then two fierce hosts from different sides wage war ...' The former interpretation

ing to the god they are entertained at a banquet, where Anchises enquires after his host's children. Anius regrets that Andros, his son, is absent, acting as regent on the island after which he was named, and that his four daughters are lost to him. He tells how Agamemnon, learning that Dionysus (Bacchus) had given the girls power to change whatever they touched into corn, wine and oil, tried to force them to supply the Greek fleet. When they escaped, two to Euboea and two to their brother in Andros, Agamemnon threatened war, and the girls had to be handed back. They prayed to Bacchus for help, and he transformed them into doves (644–74). Anius next morning bids farewell to his guests and gives each a present. Anchises receives a bronze bowl engraved with another story of metamorphosis: the daughters of Orion sacrificed their lives to save Thebes, and the Coroni (crows) arose from their funeral pyre (681–704).

In Book 3 of the *Aeneid* Anius appears briefly, in his capacity as priest (80–120). The Trojans are received by him and immediately ask Apollo to grant them a home; the god's response is *antiquam exquirite matrem*, a command wrongly interpreted by Anchises (see 678n.). Ovid assumes that his readers know of the prophecy (678–9), and instead supplements the Virgilian account (see p. 22 nn. 93 and 94). The move away from Virgil is made in lines 640–2, where Anchises asks his host *o Phoebi lecte sacerdos, | fallor, an et natum, cum primum haec moenia uidi, | bisque duas natas, quantum reminiscor, habebas?*: on one hand, the words *cum primum haec moenia uidi* invite readers to remember that Anchises is a *uetus amicus* of Anius (*Aen.* 3.82); on the other, the emphasis on accurate remembrance and on the possibility of being mistaken draws attention to the fact that readers cannot recall any mention of Anius' children in the Virgilian account.[120]

would correspond better, too, with ruff individual combat (though, it must be admitted, ruffs fight neither in the air nor to the death) and with gladiatorial practice. For the proposed use of *diuersus* cf. Virg. *Geo.* 3.32 *duo rapta manu diuerso ex hoste tropaea*, *Aen.* 12.621 *quisue ruit tantus diuersa clamor ab urbe?* (where most commentators take *diuersa* to mean 'distant' but Servius records the paraphrase *ex uariis partibus ciuitatis*). The nom. pl. is, however, strongly supported by *Fasti* 2.643 *te duo diuersa domini de parte coronant* (of the god Terminus).

[120] For this technique cf. 15.436–8 (which looks to Virg. *Aen.* 3.374–462) with Solodow (1988) 228. There is a further invitation for us to try to recall the exact number of daughters: see below. It is possible, too, that *fallor* and *quantum reminiscor* are intended to give an impression of senile amnesia masquerading as tactful enquiry.

Ovid's supplementary material is a version of a story which was told in the *Cypria* (see p. 14): the Greek forces on their way to Troy called at Delos and were hospitably received by Anius, who prophesied victory in the tenth year; he offered to use his daughters' victualling powers to provide for the army in Delos for nine years.[121] Ovid follows a different account, in which the daughters were taken from Anius by force and later transformed into doves; a similar version is recorded by Servius and may have been narrated by Simonides (fifth century), by Callimachus in the *Aetia*, or by Euphorion (third century) in his hexameter work *Anius*; none of these treatments survives.[122] In the case of Anius' daughters, Ovid draws attention to variants in the tradition. Usually they are said to be three in number, their names being Oeno (Wine-girl), Spermo (Seed-girl) and Elais (Oil-girl), and each being able to produce at will the substance from which her name was derived.[123] Ovid clearly alludes to this tradition at lines 652–4 *tactu natarum cuncta mearum | in segetem laticemque meri canaeque Mineruae | transformabantur*: the triple definition of substances corresponds to the three girls' names. However, Ovid twice states that there were four daughters (642, 660–1); and the only way to reconcile these facts is to understand lines 652–4 to mean there was no division of labour, and that each of the four could produce any of the substances. The reason for this apparently unnecessary complication is not obvious. But a fourth daughter, separate from the metamorphic triad, is recorded in some sources – and she is linked with Aeneas. Her name was Launa, and according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus she sailed from Delos with Aeneas, who

[121] Pherecydes, *FGH* 3 F 140 = Schol. Lycophron 570 (Scheer (1908) 197–8) = *EGF Cypria* F 19, p. 42 Davies. There is a useful collection of texts concerning Anius, together with the evidence for him in Delian cult, in Bruneau (1970) 413–17 (literary), 417–30 (cult).

Thus Virgil's Anius episode demonstrated a parallel between the Greeks, sailing from west to east to destroy a city, and the Trojans, sailing from east to west to found its replacement; but it also framed the Trojan saga itself with Greek and Trojan visits to Delos.

[122] Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 3.80; Simon. *PMG* 537; Callim. fr. 188 (cf. 664); Euphor. fr. 2, *CA* p. 29. The daughters are called 'doves' by Lycophron (mid third century BC): 580 φάβας. According to Servius (*loc. cit.*), as a result of their transformation it was forbidden to harm doves in Delos (usually birds were driven away from temples to prevent unsightly fouling: cf. Eur. *Ion* 154–83).

[123] Schol. Lycophr. 570, *al.*

was so impressed with her wisdom and powers of prophecy that he asked Anius to let her go with him to Italy; the place of her death was subsequently called Lavinium in her honour.[124] This connection of a fourth daughter with Aeneas may be sufficient explanation for Ovid's treatment.

The Anius episode exists in the interstices of Virgil's account: it takes place between lines 83 of *Aeneid* Book 3 *iungimus hospitio dextras et tecta subimus*, which is echoed at *Met.* 13.638 *regia tecta petunt*, and 84 *templa dei . . . uenerabar*, to which allusion is made at the close of Anius' narrative with the words *cumque die surgunt adeuntque oracula Phoebi* (677).[125] He recounts the story of his daughters at a symposium. The setting is a common one for the telling of stories and anecdotes, as Plato's *Symposium* and its literary progeny attest; it is used elsewhere in the *Metamorphoses* at 4.765–803, 8.565–9.92 and 12.146–579.

The Coroni

Antoninus Liberalis (? second century AD), whose prose *Collection of metamorphoses* contains the only other surviving account, attributes the story to the fourth book of Nicander's *Heteroeumena* (see p. 1) and to Corinna's *Weroia*.[126] He summarises the tale as follows:

> (1) Orion son of Hyrieus, from Boeotia, had two daughters, Metioche and Menippe. When Artemis made away with Orion, the girls were brought up by their mother. Athena taught them weaving, and Aphrodite gave them beauty. (2) There came a time when a plague ravaged the whole of Boeotia, causing many deaths. The people sent representatives to Gortyn [in Arcadia] to consult the oracle of Apollo, whose advice was that they should appease the two gods of the Underworld [Perse-

[124] Dion. Hal. 1.59. Another variant of the story has Aeneas rape Launa: Serv. *loc. cit.*

[125] There may be a further hint at the context of the Virgilian episode in the fact that Aurora's is the preceding tale: just as Book 3 of the *Aeneid* is immediately preceded by a dawn (2.801), so Ovid's parallel narrative is preceded by the Aurora episode. Another link: both episodes begin with *non* (576 ~ 623).

[126] The attributions in Antoninus, though probably correct, were not originally part of his text, and their origin and authenticity have given rise to much debate: see Papathomopoulos (1968) XV–XIX, Lightfoot (1999) 246–56.

> phone and Hades]: their wrath would end if two virgins would offer themselves up as sacrifices to the two gods. (3) None of the girls in the city was inclined to obey the oracle. Finally, however, a female slave reported it to the daughters of Orion, who were busy at the loom. When they heard how the matter stood, they accepted death willingly on behalf of the citizens, saying that it was better so to die than to fall certain victims to the plague. To the underworld gods they called out three times that they were offering themselves up willingly; then they struck themselves by the collarbone with their shuttles and cut their throats. (4) Both fell to the ground. Out of pity, Persephone and Hades made their bodies disappear, and instead made two stars rise up from the ground; these moved up to the sky, and men called them comets. (5) The people of Boeotia set up a sanctuary at Orchomenos in their honour, and each year boys and girls bring offerings to it. Even to this day the Aeolians [Boeotians] call them Maiden Coronides. (Ant. Lib. *Met.* 25)

Ovid's version of the story is depicted on a bowl, and is described in discrete scenes clearly articulated by transitional phrases: (685 *urbs erat* . . .) a city with seven gates; (687 *ante urbem* . . .) funerals of plague victims, and general desolation; (692 *ecce* . . .) the suicides; (697 *tum* . . .) youths arising from the pyre. His account seems to correspond to that of Antoninus until the end, where he replaces catasterism with the rising of human beings from the ashes; that version may be from Corinna, but may equally be the invention of Ovid. The story fits in with that of Anius and his daughters: a man who lost his own children gives a gift depicting other girls' deaths. Links of this thematic type are traditional in set-piece descriptions: in the *Europa* of Moschus, for example, a young girl who is about to be abducted by a bull carries a basket depicting Io turned into a cow (37–60); and Catullus' epyllion *Peleus and Thetis* has a joyful wedding couch spread with a coverlet depicting the abandoned Ariadne wishing that she could at least be Theseus' slave so that she could arrange the coverlet on his bed (64.160–3).[127] Ovid's version of the story has links, too,

[127] There is a further link between Anius and his gift, which is not however stated explicitly: it was Apollo who sent the plague (Ant. Lib. §1), and Anius is priest of Apollo.

with the Memnon episode: there female birds arose from the *fauilla* of a man (604–11); here, male youths arise from the *fauilla* of girls (697).[128] The similarity is pointed by the allusion in *cineri materno* (699) to the phrase *cineri cognata sepulto | corpora* (615–16).

Why are the Coronides/Coroni so called? No explanation of the name is given by Antoninus, although in his account the juxtaposition of 'boys and girls', *KORoi te kai KORai*, with the name *KORonides* (§5) suggests an etymological link, 'Girl–birds'. In the Ovidian version emphasis is laid on the glory of the girls' behaviour, and some further connexion may be implied with the word *corona*, 'crown of glory'; indeed, the episode is rounded off with a pun on that word (696 *celebri*, 698 *fama*, 704 *coronam*; see 704n.). The fact that in Ovid the new beings are male provides a formal contrast with the Memnonides; and like Polyxena, another willing sacrifice, earlier in the book, they undergo a sort of transformation of sex (451 *plus quam femina uirgo*, 488 *animae tam fortis*). The words *ne genus intereat* (698) and *cineri materno* (699) show that the Coroni are to be seen as children who will ensure continuance of the family line.

7. LINES 13.730–14.222: ACIS, GALATEA AND POLYPHEMUS; SCYLLA, GLAUCUS AND CIRCE

The remainder of Book 13 and the beginning of Book 14 deal with a pair of love-triangles, both of which end in disaster. Glaucus loves Scylla and is loved by Circe; Galatea loves Acis and is loved by Polyphemus. Circe's magic changes her rival into a hideous monster, and Polyphemus horribly murders his rival, who is changed into a river. Thus, by a technique familiar in the *Metamorphoses* (see p. 9), a pair of similar and contrasting episodes are juxtaposed: a male and a female object of double passion; a watery and a terrestrial fate (Scylla is transformed while she bathes and Acis is crushed by a huge rock); an already metamorphosed lover (Glaucus, once a fisherman) whose love will result in metamorphosis for his beloved; two unsuccessful attempts at persuasion and self-praise by grotesque and deluded suitors. Scylla is introduced first (730–7) and is the audience

[128] Galinsky (1975) 221 sees the rebirth as a symbol of Trojan revival.

for Galatea's story; within this inset narrative is the love-song of Polyphemus, which she repeats.

Circe, Scylla and Polyphemus are mentioned in Virgil's narrative of Aeneas, and Ovid continues his transformation of the *Aeneid* with a typical movement away from Virgil's tone and emphases.[129] In the speech of Helenus, whom Aeneas and his companions encounter after the Anius episode,[130] Circe is briefly mentioned as inhabiting Sicily. Later in the same book the Trojans arrive in Sicily and beach their ship near Mt Etna, where they meet Achaemenides, one of Ulysses' crew left accidentally behind after their encounter with the Cyclops. Achaemenides describes his experiences at some length, and the blinded Polyphemus appears on the shore; the Trojans flee, taking Achaemenides with them, as many more Cyclopes gather (*Aen.* 3.570–691). Ovid includes his own gruesome version of the Achaemenides narrative in Book 14, where, after concluding the stories of Scylla, Glaucus and Circe, he takes up once more the plot of the *Aeneid* (14.158–222). Initially, however, the tone of this episode is very different from Virgil's, and the subject, for the first time in Book 13, is amatory. Almost all the traditional aspects of the Polyphemus story are somewhere incorporated.

Polyphemus and Galatea

Polyphemus' first and best-known appearance in Greek literature is in Book 9 of the *Odyssey* (105–564). He is there portrayed as a savage and solitary cannibal who devours many of Odysseus' companions when they are trapped in his cave. Odysseus offers him strong wine, and while he lies in a drunken stupor the survivors burn out his single eye with a red-hot stake. A clever ruse prevents their detection: Odysseus had told Polyphemus that his name was No-one, so that when the neighbour Cyclopes hear his agonised cries and ask what is wrong, he shouts 'No-one is trying to kill me.' Odysseus and the others escape through the cave entrance, which the Cyclops is blindly guarding, by hanging underneath his sheep as they are led

[129] Myers (1994) 101–2 sees this as Ovid's equivalent of the Aeneas and Dido episode, which comes shortly after Anius in Virgil.

[130] *Aen.* 3.386; cf. *Met.* 13.723.

out to pasture. As he sails away, Odysseus cannot resist exulting in his success and revealing his real name; Polyphemus recognises that a prophecy by Telemus has been fulfilled. He throws a huge rock in the direction of Odysseus' voice, and almost sinks the ship; and he curses Odysseus in the name of his father Poseidon.

A rather more refined Polyphemus is portrayed in the *Cyclops* of Euripides, a satyr-play which exploits further the humorous potential of Homer's narrative.[131]

In about 400 BC the Sicilian Philoxenus composed a lyric poem in which he invented an episode set before Odysseus' arrival. He made Polyphemus a lover of the sea-nymph Galatea; Odysseus, too, had a role. This poem, now lost (see *PMG* 815–24), was the first literary treatment of the Cyclops in love. Contradictory accounts were current in antiquity about Philoxenus' inspiration for the poem (*PMG* 816, 817, 819). However, it was widely believed that he had had an affair with a certain Galatea, mistress of Dionysius tyrant of Syracuse, that he had been punished by imprisonment in the stone quarries, and that he had composed his poem as an allegory, Dionysius being represented as the unperceptive Cyclops, Galatea as the sea-nymph of that name, and himself as the wily Odysseus. All this may be later fabrication; but the poem was famous in antiquity, and widely imitated. Several writers of comedies treated the story at roughly the same time, but only a few fragments survive.[132]

In the third century BC Theocritus composed two hexameter poems inspired by Philoxenus. Idyll 11, framed by an address to Theocritus' doctor friend Nicias, who is perhaps himself in love, states that song is a useful antidote to love, and quotes as illustration the song of Polyphemus. Galatea is the absent addressee, and Odysseus, who is not mentioned by name, is present only through heavy irony and Homeric verbal allusion. Theocritus is a writer of pastoral poetry, and Polyphemus is depicted as a naive rustic who lacks insight; his song is in part clumsy, and the tone wavers between pathos and bathos. Although readers can hardly forget that Polyphemus is

[131] See Seaford (1984) 51–9.

[132] Alexis, *PCG* 37–40 (vol. 2 pp. 44–6 K–A), Antiphanes, *PCG* 129–31 (vol. 2 pp. 381–3 K–A), Nicochares, *PCG* 3–6 (vol. 7 pp. 41–3 K–A); see Arnott (1996) 139–51.

soon to be a godless cannibal, he utters no threats and uses no violent language: his aim is persuasion. By the end of his song, although Galatea is as unobtainable as ever, he seems to have gained at least a temporary respite from his passion: there are, he claims, other girls who do not reject him (75–9). Another poem, Idyll 6, is a variation on the same theme, Galatea being this time in pursuit of Polyphemus. It is a singing-contest between two herdsmen in which one reproves Polyphemus for being backward in love and the other replies in the character of the Cyclops. He claims that he is ignoring Galatea in order to sharpen her desire for him; he has seen his reflection in the sea, and he reckons himself to be handsome. These poems, *Idyll* 11 in particular, were well known in antiquity, and both are alluded to by Ovid.[133]

Several references to the story of Polyphemus and Galatea in the surviving fragments of Hellenistic poetry attest its popularity in the third and second centuries: Hermesianax, Bion and ps.-Moschus all refer to the scene, made familiar by Theocritus (11.17–18), of the Cyclops gazing out to sea and singing of his love for Galatea,[134] and later we find several artistic representations of the same picture.[135] Callimachus wrote an epigram (46 Pf.) on Polyphemus and a poem in hexameters entitled *Galatea*; how he treated the subject there is not known, but Galatea was referred to as ancestress of the *Galatoi* or Gauls (fr. 379).

In the *Eclogues*, inspired by Theocritus' pastoral poetry, Virgil refers several times to the Theocritean story of Polyphemus and Galatea. Eclogue 2, a love-song of Corydon addressed to the boy Alexis, adapts many of the Cyclops' arguments and persuasive techniques; at *Ecl.* 9.39–43 old Moeris quotes a fragment of Menalcas which is clearly part of a song by Polyphemus (cf. Theoc. 11.42–8); at *Ecl.* 7.37–40 Corydon as part of a singing-contest echoes the series of comparisons with which the Theocritean Cyclops begins his address (11.19–21); and at *Ecl.* 8.37–41 Damon reminisces, like Theocritus'

[133] See 763, 764, 770–3, 780, 781, 789, 791, 795, 796, 797, 799, 810–11, 823–4, 832, 834–7, 838, 840–1, 846, 851, 869, 871nn.

[134] Herm. fr. 1, *CA* p. 96; Bion, fr. 16 Reed (1997); ps.-Moschus, *Wedding-song of Ach. and Deid.* 1–3.

[135] *LIMC* v 1.100–5, 2.628–31; viii 1.1011–19, 2.666–75.

Polyphemus (11.25–9), about his romantic first meeting with his beloved. These passages are in turn alluded to by Ovid: see the nn. to lines 762–845 *passim*.[136]

Polyphemus the savage cannibal is associated chiefly with epic (*Odyssey* and *Aeneid*), Polyphemus the lover with Hellenistic and neoteric pieces of short, highly polished poetry (*Idylls* and *Eclogues*). Introducing his story of Polyphemus and Galatea into the *Metamorphoses*, a poem which embraces both types of writing, and specifically into his version of the *Aeneid* story, Ovid fuses characteristics of both the epic and the Hellenistic Polyphemus. The Cyclops is in love, but he loves ferociously; he is already a cannibal (768–9), and is merely diverted by passion. The monster's brute force is combined with the Theocritean lover's passion, and the result is a proud and jealous suitor whose address to his beloved and praise of himself are followed by threats, destined soon to be carried out, of violent and vengeful murder. The link between violence and passion is typical for the *Metamorphoses*; here it is effected by a combination of literary sources of markedly different tones.

Polyphemus' song is often described as a burlesque. Certainly it is a performance of Cyclopean dimensions[137] containing a whole gamut of tones and emotions. The Theocritean Cyclops began his song with four comparisons expressed in two lines (11.20–1); in Ovid these are expanded to a nineteen-line passage with no less than thirty comparisons. The lines are artfully varied in structure and word-order, and are divided into positive and negative parts: Galatea is both desirable and unattainable. Each part is concluded by a section beginning *et*, of which the first is of a single line (797), the second of three lines by way of resounding conclusion (805–7).[138] Polyphemus is, it seems, unaware of the limits of praise and decorum, just as he is unaffected by normal codes of behaviour. His description of Galatea's negative qualities gains irony from the fact that many of

[136] I.e. Ovid rewrites part of the *Eclogues* within a section of his poem which rewrites the *Aeneid*. With the Plague, Orpheus, etc. he rewrites parts of the *Georgics*.

[137] See Bömer's n. on 789–869.

[138] Wills (1996) 419 n. 59 says that the rhyme at line-end has a humorous effect.

the words which he uses to describe her are much better applied to himself: she is called *saeua*, *dura*, *uiolens*, *superba*, *acris*, *aspera*, *truculenta* and *immitis* (for which cf. 759), and the rocks to which he compares her will furnish the very missile with which he will destroy Acis (801, 882).

After praising Galatea, Polyphemus turns to his own attractions as he attempts to conjure her from the waves and into his presence (815 *ipsa tuis manibus*, 825 *praesens*, 839 *iam ... ueni*). This part of his speech is full of allusions to the Theocritean and Virgilian version: it is as if Polyphemus is determined to outdo the persuasiveness of his literary predecessors. That was already the case with the list of comparisons, and the dramatic illusion is almost broken at line 831, where he dismisses as *uulgata* the usual lovers' gifts: they are not only 'common' but also 'hackneyed' after Theocritus and Virgil. In line 840 the words *certe ego me noui*, a version of the famous Greek injunction 'know thyself', draw attention to his lack of insight, and the passage that follows shows that he equates bulk with importance. He makes a virtue of his hideousness, turning even his shaggy hair into a sort of *locus amoenus*: it shades his shoulders like a leafy copse (845; cf. 766). His vigorous defence of his hairiness and his single eye, based on analogies with the natural world (846–53), humorously betray his lack of discrimination: he ought never to have drawn attention to such defects. In a sense, Polyphemus is blind all along, and his self-delusion is a prelude to his loss of real sight: when told by Telemus the prophet that Ulysses will take away his eye, he replies that Galatea has captivated his sight already (770–5).

The final section of Polyphemus' song shows him in epic mode, and it is here for the first time that he mentions Acis. The thought of his rival drives him to threats of grotesque violence, and his song ends on a discordant note (862–6). His final words describe his oppressive and burning passion; *uror* and *laesus* (867) look forward to the literal burning out of his eye by Ulysses. Overt references of this type are found already in the Cyclops' song in Theocritus: see p. 36 above.

Ovid has, so far as we can tell, innovated in presenting this story from Galatea's point of view. In Theocritus' eleventh Idyll it is told by the narrator, who quotes Polyphemus' song; in the sixth Idyll two shepherds interpret behaviour of Polyphemus and Galatea which

they pretend is happening before their eyes; a few words of Galatea are reported in indirect speech. There Polyphemus had a high opinion of his attractions; but here Galatea reveals that his fears about her opinion of him in *Idyll* 11 were well founded (764n.).[139]

Acis

According to Ovid Acis is a son of Faunus and the nymph Symaethis; he is loved by Galatea, killed out of jealousy by Polyphemus, and turned into a river-god, the waters springing from his blood. A Sicilian river Acis is mentioned in Theocritus (1.69), but no trace of the story of Acis and Galatea is found before Ovid's account.[140] Ovid may have borrowed the story from some lost Hellenistic poem, or he may have invented it for the present context, using as the name for Galatea's lover a river which Theocritus says flowed near Mt Etna, Polyphemus' stamping-ground.[141] Acis' function in the story is to provide an object, lacking in Theocritus, for the jealousy and violence of Polyphemus, facilitating the transformation from lover to murderer, Alexandrian to epic monster: his crushing of Acis with a heavy rock is a rehearsal for his attempt on Odysseus' ship described in the *Odyssey* (9.480–3; cf. 882–3n., 14.181–6), just as his threats of dismemberment and disembowelling foreshadow his later treatment of Odysseus' companions (865n., 14.192–7).

[139] For this and other aspects of the episode see Farrell (1992).

[140] It is, however, possible that Acis is to be detected already in Idyll 11: when Polyphemus says that he has ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ at 11.47 there are several verbal reminiscences of the passage describing the river Acis at *Id.* 1.69; and, when we remember that it was famous for the coldness of its water (Solin. 5.17), we might conclude that there is a covert allusion to Acis here in *Id.* 11 just as there are several in the following lines to the Odyssean denouement.

[141] The name Acis has a long initial vowel. The Greek word *akis*, with short initial vowel, means a pointed object (cf. 884n.), and it is sometimes applied in amatory poetry to Cupid's arrows (Meleager, *AP* 12.76.2, *APl.* 213.2; Archias, *AP* 5.58.4; *Anacreontea* 28.5 West); that might have been a factor in Ovid's choice of the name, since Acis affects Galatea with love. Segal (1969) 31 suggests that Acis' transformation enacts the wish of the Theocritean Polyphemus that he had been born with gills so that he might join Galatea in the sea (11.54–7).

Glaucus and Circe

When Galatea has finished her story, Scylla disports herself naked on the shore and is seen by the sea-god Glaucus, who has a fish's tail instead of legs. Unsuccessful in his courtship, he makes a proud speech in explanation of his semi-piscine nature. He used to be a fisherman, and one day he placed his catch on the ground in an untouched meadow near the beach. The dead fish came back to life and returned to the sea. Glaucus, suspecting that the grass had magic properties, tasted it. Immediately he felt compelled to dive into the sea, where he was received with solemn ritual by the marine gods and given his present shape. Scylla is not impressed, and Glaucus goes to visit the witch Circe (Book 14). When he pleads for her help in gaining Scylla's affections, Circe offers herself as his lover. He refuses, and in revenge she poisons Scylla's bathing pool. When next Scylla steps into the water, the lower part of her body is transformed into raging dogs. It was her hatred for Circe, we are told, that made her attack Ulysses' ship after he left Circe's island. She would have destroyed Aeneas' fleet, too, had she not been changed into a rock.

Glaucus, named after the colour of the waves (913n.), was a marine god, a sort of Old Man of the Sea, in cult associated particularly with Anthedon in Boeotia (905).[142] He is not mentioned by Homer or in the extant poems of Hesiod, but various stories connected with his metamorphosis, amatory escapades and gift of prophecy (the latter ignored by Ovid) were treated by later writers.[143] Aeschylus wrote a play, probably satyric, entitled *Glaucus pontius*, in which reference was made to his metamorphosis (*TGF* F 29 Radt). An interesting passage (7.296a–297b) of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* or *Professors at the dinner-table* (*c.* AD 200) quotes or refers to a dozen writers, mostly Hellenis-

[142] Glaucus' story is foreshadowed at 7.232–3, where Medea's herbs include *Euboïca uiuax Anthedone gramen, | nondum mutato uulgatum corpore Glauci*; cf. 13.905.

[143] Although he is not explicitly mentioned by Homer, the figure of Glaucus may owe his presence here to the simile at *Od.* 12.251–5, where the monster Scylla as she grabs Odysseus' companions is compared to a fisherman on a promontory landing his catch with rod and line.

tic, who mentioned Glaucus; Hedyle (third century BC) is said to have told of his love for Scylla (= *SH* 456). Cicero wrote a *Glaucus pontius* in tetrameters (Plut. *Cic.* 2.3), and the love poet Cornificius treated the subject (fr. 2, p. 226 Courtney). Since none of these versions survives, it is not possible to tell which, if any, influenced Ovid. It may have been he who introduced Circe to the story; no other known source mentions her in connexion with Glaucus. If that is the case, the reason for his innovation is clear: Circe is a jealous, spiteful and destructive rival who corresponds to Polyphemus in the inset story of Acis and Galatea. In addition to this formal correspondence and those discussed on pp. 34–5, the tale is itself symmetrically structured: Glaucus is rejected by Scylla and Circe is rejected by Glaucus;[144] both are changed by plants,[145] and both become animals below the waist.[146] The rocky Sicilian shoreline provides further correspondences within and between the stories: Polyphemus sits on a jutting outcrop (778–9) and later overwhelms Acis with a huge boulder (882–4); Scylla sits on a similar vantage point (910–11) and later is transformed into a rock (14.73–4).

Readers of the *Metamorphoses* have already encountered a Scylla. In Book 8 is told the story of Scylla daughter of Nisus, who fell in love with king Minos while he was besieging her city and, to prove her love, cut off her father's talismanic lock of hair on which the safety of the city depended. Spurned by Minos for her treachery, she became a bird called *ciris*, and her father was transformed into a sea-eagle (8.1–151). This Scylla is sometimes said to have become the half-monster. In the *Metamorphoses* Ovid keeps them distinct.[147] His is the first extant account of Scylla's metamorphosis from girl to half-monster.[148] In the *Odyssey* Scylla is a complete monster who 'yelps like a puppy'. She has twelve feet and six heads, each with three rows

[144] 13.967 *inritatusque repulsa* (cf. 735) ~ 14.42 *offensa repulsa*.

[145] 13.942–6, 14.14–15, 55–7, 68–9.

[146] 963, 14.64 *crura*; 915, 14.67 *inguina*.

[147] There is, however, a hint in the episode in Book 8 of the other Scylla: the departing Minos calls the unnatural daughter a *monstrum* (8.100). In passing references at *Ars am.* 1.331–2 and *Fasti* 4.500 it suits Ovid's purposes to conflate the two Scyllas.

[148] He may owe some details to the *Scylla* of Hedyle (see above).

of teeth; from a cave high up in a cliff she 'fishes' for passing sea-creatures, and when Odysseus sails past she snatches a sailor with each head (*Od.* 12.85–100, 234–59). It is possible to see how some of the details of Homer's account could have been adapted to form the version told by Ovid: the doglike voice (12.86) and the epithet 'rocky' (12.231) might, for instance, have suggested transformation into dogs and, ultimately, into a crag.

THE TEXT AND APPARATUS CRITICUS

Many manuscripts of the *Metamorphoses* survive, though none is early; the poem was particularly popular in the twelfth century. There exist three short fragments from the ninth century. These share with a number of MSS from the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries headings and prose summaries by a certain Lactantius. This 'Lactantian' group is in some respects superior to the very large number of other MSS; but good readings can occur almost anywhere, so that 'enlightened eclecticism based on sense and usage' is the only prudent course for editors.[1]

The present text relies on readings reported by earlier editors. Variants, and conjectures by modern scholars, are reported only where there is reasonable doubt about what Ovid wrote. The following abbreviations are used:

M = reading of the whole MS tradition
m = reading of part of the MS tradition

Thus 'det *Bentley*: dat *m*: datur *m*' means that the MSS have *dat* or *datur*, but that Bentley restored the preferred reading, *det*. Again: 'in *Bentley*: an *M*' means that all MSS have *an*, but that Bentley's conjecture *in* is preferred.

[1] Tarrant (1983) 277, following the practice of Heinsius.

P. OVIDI NASONIS
METAMORPHOSEON
LIBER TERTIVS DECIMVS

P. OVIDI NASONIS METAMORPHOSEON LIBER TERTIVS DECIMVS

Consedere duces et uulgi stante corona
surgit ad hos clipei dominus septemplicis Aiax,
utque erat impatiens irae, Sigeïa toruo
litora respexit classemque in litore uultu
intendensque manus 'agimus, pro Iuppiter,' inquit 5
'ante rates causam, et mecum confertur Vlixes!
at non Hectoreis dubitauit cedere flammis,
quas ego sustinui, quas hac a classe fugaui.
tutius est igitur fictis contendere uerbis
quam pugnare manu. sed nec mihi dicere promptum 10
nec facere est isti, quantumque ego Marte feroci
inque acie ualeo, tantum ualet iste loquendo.
nec memoranda tamen uobis mea facta, Pelasgi,
esse reor, uidistis enim; sua narret Vlixes,
quae sine teste gerit, quorum nox conscia sola est. 15
praemia magna peto, fateor, sed demit honorem
aemulus; Aiaci non est tenuisse superbum,
sit licet hoc ingens, quicquid sperauit Vlixes.
iste tulit pretium iam nunc temptaminis huius,
quod, cum uictus erit, mecum certasse feretur. 20
'Atque ego, si uirtus in me dubitabilis esset,
nobilitate potens essem, Telamone creatus,
moenia qui forti Troiana sub Hercule cepit
litoraque intrauit Pagasaea Colcha carina.
Aeacus huic pater est, qui iura silentibus illic 25
reddit, ubi Aeoliden saxum graue Sisyphon urget.
Aeacon agnoscit summus prolemque fatetur

12 inque *m*: quantum *m* 16 peto *Magnus*: peti *M* 20 quod *m*: qui *m*
26 Aeolides . . . Sisyphus *m*

Iuppiter esse suam: sic a Ioue tertius Aiax.
nec tamen haec series in causam prosit, Achiui,
si mihi cum magno non est communis Achille. 30
frater erat, fraterna peto. quid sanguine cretus
Sisyphio furtisque et fraude simillimus illi
inseris Aeacidis alienae nomina gentis?
'An quod in arma prior nulloque sub indice ueni,
arma neganda mihi? potiorque uidebitur ille, 35
ultima qui cepit detractauitque furore
militiam ficto, donec sollertior isto
et sibi inutilior timidi commenta retexit
Naupliades animi uitataque traxit ad arma?
optima num sumat, quia sumere noluit ulla? 40
nos inhonorati et donis patruelibus orbi,
obtulimus quia nos ad prima pericula, simus?
atque utinam aut uerus furor ille aut creditus esset,
nec comes hic Phrygias umquam uenisset ad arces
hortator scelerum: non te, Poeantia proles, 45
expositum Lemnos nostro cum crimine haberet,
qui nunc, ut memorant, siluestribus abditus antris
saxa moues gemitu Laërtiadaeque precaris
quae meruit; quae, si di sunt, non uana precaris.
et nunc ille eadem nobis iuratus in arma, 50
heu! pars una ducum, quo successore sagittae
Herculis utuntur, fractus morboque fameque
uelaturque aliturque auibus uolucresque petendo
debita Troianis exercet spicula fatis.
ille tamen uiuit, quia non comitauit Vlixem; 55
uellet et infelix Palamedes esse relictus,
[uiueret aut certe letum sine crimine haberet.]
quem male conuicti nimium memor iste furoris

33 inserit *m* 38 et *m*: sed *m*: at *Heinsius* 40 num *m*: nunc *m* quia *m*: qui *m* ulla *m*: illa *m* 49 preceris *m* 51 pars *M*: spes *Postgate* una *M*: magna *Bothe* 56 mallet *m* 57 *v. om. m; secl. Merkel* 58 iste *m*: ille *m*

prodere rem Danaam finxit fictumque probauit
crimen et ostendit, quod iam praefoderat, aurum. 60
ergo aut exilio uires subduxit Achiuis
aut nece: sic pugnat, sic est metuendus Vlixes.
'Qui licet eloquio fidum quoque Nestora uincat,
haud tamen efficiet, desertum ut Nestora crimen
esse rear nullum; qui cum imploraret Vlixem 65
uulnere tardus equi fessusque senilibus annis,
proditus a socio est. non haec mihi crimina fingi
scit bene Tydides, qui nomine saepe uocatum
corripuit trepidoque fugam exprobrauit amico.
aspiciunt oculis superi mortalia iustis: 70
en eget auxilio qui non tulit, utque reliquit,
sic linquendus erat; legem sibi dixerat ipse.
conclamat socios; adsum uideoque trementem
pallentemque metu et trepidantem morte futura.
opposui molem clipei texique iacentem 75
seruauique animam (minimum est hoc laudis) inertem.
si perstas certare, locum redeamus in illum;
redde hostem uulnusque tuum solitumque timorem
post clipeumque late et mecum contende sub illo.
at postquam eripui, cui standi uulnera uires 80
non dederant, nullo tardatus uulnere fugit.
'Hector adest secumque deos in proelia ducit,
quaque ruit, non tu tantum terreris, Vlixe,
sed fortes etiam: tantum trahit ille timoris.
hunc ego sanguineae successu caedis ouantem 85
eminus ingenti resupinum pondere fudi;
hunc ego poscentem, cum quo concurreret, unus
sustinui, sortemque meam uouistis, Achiui,
et uestrae ualuere preces. si quaeritis huius
fortunam pugnae, non sum superatus ab illo. 90
ecce ferunt Troes ferrumque ignesque Iouemque

60 iam *M*: clam *Burman* 74 trepidantem *m*: metuentem *m* 76 hic *m*

in Danaas classes; ubi nunc facundus Vlixes?
nempe ego mille meo protexi pectore puppes,
spem uestri reditus; date pro tot nauibus arma.
quod si uera licet mihi dicere, quaeritur istis 95
quam mihi maior honos, coniunctaque gloria nostra est,
atque Aiax armis, non Aiaci arma petuntur.
'Conferat his Ithacus Rhesum imbellemque Dolona
Priamidenque Helenum rapta cum Pallade captum;
luce nihil gestum, nihil est Diomede remoto. 100
si semel ista datis meritis tam uilibus arma,
diuidite, et pars sit maior Diomedis in illis.
quo tamen haec Ithaco, qui clam, qui semper inermis
rem gerit et furtis incautum decipit hostem?
ipse nitor galeae claro radiantis ab auro 105
insidias prodet manifestabitque latentem.
sed neque Dulichius sub Achillis casside uertex
pondera tanta feret, nec non onerosa grauisque
Pelias hasta potest imbellibus esse lacertis,
nec clipeus uasti caelatus imagine mundi 110
conueniet timidae nataeque ad furta sinistrae.
debilitaturum quid te petis, improbe, munus?
quod tibi si populi donauerit error Achiui,
cur spolieris erit, non cur metuaris ab hoste;
et fuga, qua sola cunctos, timidissime, uincis, 115
tarda futura tibi est gestamina tanta trahenti.
adde quod iste tuus, tam raro proelia passus,
integer est clipeus; nostro, qui tela ferendo
mille patet plagis, nouus est successor habendus.
denique quid uerbis opus est? spectemur agendo. 120
arma uiri fortis medios mittantur in hostes:
inde iubete peti et referentem ornate relatis.'
Finierat Telamone satus, uulgique secutum
ultima murmur erat, donec Laërtius heros

117 proelia *m*: uulnera *m*

astitit atque oculos paulum tellure moratos 125
sustulit ad proceres exspectatoque resoluit
ora sono, neque abest facundis gratia dictis.
  'Si mea cum uestris ualuissent uota, Pelasgi,
non foret ambiguus tanti certaminis heres,
tuque tuis armis, nos te poteremur, Achille. 130
quem quoniam non aequa mihi uobisque negarunt
fata' (manuque simul ueluti lacrimantia tersit
lumina) 'quis magno melius succedit Achilli,
quam per quem magnus Danais successit Achilles?
huic modo ne prosit, quod, ut est, hebes esse uidetur, 135
neue mihi noceat, quod uobis semper, Achiui,
profuit ingenium, meaque haec facundia, si qua est,
quae nunc pro domino, pro uobis saepe locuta est,
inuidia careat, bona nec sua quisque recuset.
  'Nam genus et proauos et quae non fecimus ipsi, 140
uix ea nostra uoco; sed enim, quia rettulit Aiax
esse Iouis pronepos, nostri quoque sanguinis auctor
Iuppiter est, totidemque gradus distamus ab illo.
nam mihi Laërtes pater est, Arcesius illi,
Iuppiter huic; neque in his quisquam damnatus et exul. 145
est quoque per matrem Cyllenius addita nobis
altera nobilitas: deus est in utroque parente.
sed neque materno quod sum generosior ortu,
nec mihi quod pater est fraterni sanguinis insons,
proposita arma peto; meritis expendite causam, 150
dummodo, quod fratres Telamon Peleusque fuerunt,
Aiacis meritum non sit nec sanguinis ordo,
sed uirtutis honor spoliis quaeratur in istis.
aut si proximitas primusque requiritur heres,
est genitor Peleus, est Pyrrhus filius illi: 155
quis locus Aiaci? Pthiam haec Scyrumue ferantur.
nec minus est isto Teucer patruelis Achilli;

133 succedat *m*: -det *m*

num petit ille tamen? num, si petat, auferat illa?
 'Ergo operum quoniam nudum certamen habetur,
plura quidem feci quam quae comprendere dictis 160
in promptu mihi sit; rerum tamen ordine ducar.
 'Praescia uenturi genetrix Nereïa leti
dissimulat cultu natum, et deceperat omnes,
in quibus Aiacem, sumptae fallacia uestis.
arma ego femineis animum motura uirilem 165
mercibus inserui, neque adhuc proiecerat heros
uirgineos habitus, cum parmam hastamque tenenti
"nate dea," dixi "tibi se peritura reseruant
Pergama. quid dubitas ingentem euertere Troiam?"
iniecique manum fortemque ad fortia misi. 170
ergo opera illius mea sunt: ego Telephon hasta
pugnantem domui, uictum orantemque refeci;
quod Thebae cecidere, meum est; me credite Lesbon,
me Tenedon Chrysenque et Cillan, Apollinis urbes,
et Scyrum cepisse; mea concussa putate 175
procubuisse solo Lyrnesia moenia dextra.
utque alios taceam, qui saeuum perdere posset
Hectora, nempe dedi: per me iacet inclitus Hector.
illis haec armis, quibus est inuentus Achilles,
arma peto: uiuo dederam, post fata reposco. 180
 'Vt dolor unius Danaos peruenit ad omnes,
Aulidaque Euboïcam complerunt mille carinae,
exspectata diu, nulla aut contraria classi
flamina erant, duraeque iubent Agamemnona sortes
immeritam saeuae natam mactare Dianae. 185
denegat hoc genitor diuisque irascitur ipsis
atque in rege tamen pater est; ego mite parentis
ingenium uerbis ad publica commoda uerti.
nunc equidem fateor, fassoque ignoscat Atrides:
difficilem tenui sub iniquo iudice causam. 190

184 erant *m*: sunt *m* 189 nunc *m*: hanc, hoc *m*

hunc tamen utilitas populi fraterque datique
summa mouet sceptri, laudem ut cum sanguine penset.
mittor et ad matrem, quae non hortanda, sed astu
decipienda fuit; quo si Telamonius isset,
orba suis essent etiamnum lintea uentis. 195
mittor et Iliacas audax orator ad arces,
uisaque et intrata est altae mihi curia Troiae,
plenaque adhuc erat illa uiris; interritus egi
quam mihi mandarat communis Graecia causam,
accusoque Parin praedamque Helenamque reposco 200
et moueo Priamum Priamoque Antenora iunctum;
at Paris et fratres et qui rapuere sub illo
uix tenuere manus (scis hoc, Menelae) nefandas,
primaque lux nostri tecum fuit illa pericli.
'Longa referre mora est quae consilioque manuque 205
utiliter feci spatiosi tempore belli.
post acies primas urbis se moenibus hostes
continuere diu, nec aperti copia Martis
ulla fuit; decimo demum pugnauimus anno.
quid facis interea, qui nil nisi proelia nosti? 210
quis tuus usus erat? nam si mea facta requiris,
hostibus insidior, fossa munimina cingo,
consolor socios ut longi taedia belli
mente ferant placida, doceo quo simus alendi
armandique modo, mittor quo postulat usus. 215
'Ecce Iouis monitu deceptus imagine somni
rex iubet incepti curam dimittere belli.
ille potest auctore suam defendere uocem;
non sinat hoc Aiax delendaque Pergama poscat,
quodque potest, pugnet. cur non remoratur ituros, 220
cur non arma capit, dat quod uaga turba sequatur?
non erat hoc nimium numquam nisi magna loquenti.

199 communem *Bentley* 212 fossa munimina *Ehwald*: -as -ne *M* 221 capit? det *m*

quid quod et ipse fugit? uidi, puduitque uidere,
cum tu terga dares inhonestaque uela parares.
nec mora, "quid facitis? quae uos dementia" dixi 225
"concitat, o socii, captam dimittere Troiam?
quidue domum fertis decimo nisi dedecus anno?"
talibus atque aliis, in quae dolor ipse disertum
fecerat, auersos profuga de classe reduxi.
conuocat Atrides socios terrore pauentes, 230
nec Telamoniades etiam nunc hiscere quicquam
audet; at ausus erat reges incessere dictis
Thersites etiam, per me haud impune proteruus.
erigor et trepidos ciues exhortor in hostem
amissamque mea uirtutem uoce reposco. 235
tempore ab hoc quodcumque potest fecisse uideri
fortiter iste, meum est, qui dantem terga retraxi.
'Denique de Danais quis te laudatue petitue?
at sua Tydides mecum communicat acta,
me probat et socio semper confidit Vlixe. 240
est aliquid de tot Graiorum milibus unum
a Diomede legi, nec me sors ire iubebat;
sic tamen et spreto noctisque hostisque periclo
ausum eadem quae nos Phrygia de gente Dolona
interimo, non ante tamen quam cuncta coegi 245
prodere et edidici quid perfida Troia pararet.
omnia cognoram nec quod specularer habebam
et iam promissa poteram cum laude reuerti;
haud contentus eo petii tentoria Rhesi
inque suis ipsum castris comitesque peremi 250
atque ita captiuo uictor uotisque potitus
ingredior curru laetos imitante triumphos.
cuius equos pretium pro nocte poposcerat hostis,
arma negate mihi, fueritque benignior Aiax!

226 socii? ... dimittite *m* 230 *v. delendum esse censuerunt Haupt, Korn* 232 audet; at *m*: audeat, audet ut, audet et, ausus at *m*: ausit, at *Heinsius* 235 repono *m*

'Quid Lycii referam Sarpedonis agmina ferro 255
deuastata meo? cum multo sanguine fudi
Coeranon Iphitiden et Alastoraque Chromiumque
Alcandrumque Haliumque Noëmonaque Prytaninque
exitioque dedi cum Chersidamante Thoöna
et Charopem fatisque immitibus Ennomon actum, 260
quique minus celebres nostra sub moenibus urbis
procubuere manu. sunt et mihi uulnera, ciues,
ipso pulchra loco; nec uanis credite uerbis –
aspicite en!' uestemque manu diduxit et 'haec sunt
pectora semper' ait 'uestris exercita rebus. 265
at nihil impendit per tot Telamonius annos
sanguinis in socios et habet sine uulnere corpus.
'Quid tamen hoc refert, si se pro classe Pelasga
arma tulisse refert contra Troasque Iouemque?
confiteorque, tulit (neque enim benefacta maligne 270
detractare meum est); sed ne communia solus
occupet, atque aliquem uobis quoque reddat honorem,
reppulit Actorides sub imagine tutus Achillis
Troas ab arsuris cum defensore carinis.
ausum etiam Hectoreis solum concurrere telis 275
se putat, oblitus regisque ducumque meique,
nonus in officio et praelatus munere sortis.
sed tamen euentus uestrae, fortissime, pugnae
quis fuit? Hector abit uiolatus uulnere nullo.
'Me miserum, quanto cogor meminisse dolore 280
temporis illius, quo Graium murus Achilles
procubuit! nec me lacrimae luctusque timorque
tardarunt, quin corpus humo sublime referrem.
his umeris, his, inquam, umeris ego corpus Achillis
et simul arma tuli; quae nunc quoque ferre laboro. 285
sunt mihi quae ualeant in talia pondera uires,
est animus certe uestros sensurus honores.

275 Hectoreo . . . Marti *m* 276 ducumque *Heinsius*: -isque *M*

scilicet idcirco pro nato caerula mater
ambitiosa suo fuit, ut caelestia dona,
artis opus tantae, rudis et sine pectore miles 290
indueret? neque enim clipei caelamina nouit,
Oceanum et terras cumque alto sidera caelo
Pleïadasque Hyadasque immunemque aequoris Arcton
diuersosque orbes nitidumque Orionis ensem.
postulat ut capiat quae non intellegit arma. 295
'Quid quod me duri fugientem munera belli
arguit incepto serum accessisse labori,
nec se magnanimo maledicere sentit Achilli?
si simulasse uocas crimen, simulauimus ambo;
si mora pro culpa est, ego sum maturior illo. 300
me pia detinuit coniunx, pia mater Achillem,
primaque sunt illis data tempora, cetera uobis;
haud timeo, si iam nequeam defendere crimen
cum tanto commune uiro. deprensus Vlixis
ingenio tamen ille, at non Aiacis Vlixes. 305
'Neue in me stolidae conuicia fundere linguae
admiremur eum, uobis quoque digna pudore
obicit. an falso Palameden crimine turpe est
accusasse mihi, uobis damnasse decorum?
sed neque Naupliades facinus defendere tantum 310
tamque patens ualuit, nec uos audistis in illo
crimina: uidistis, pretioque obiecta patebant.
nec Poeantiaden quod habet Vulcania Lemnos
esse reus merui: factum defendite uestrum,
consensistis enim. nec me suasisse negabo 315
ut se subtraheret bellique uiaeque labori
temptaretque feros requie lenire dolores.
paruit – et uiuit. non haec sententia tantum
fida, sed et felix, cum sit satis esse fidelem.

295 *v. del. Bentley* 312 pretioque *M*: praestoque *Bentley*, *Merkel*

quem quoniam uates delenda ad Pergama poscunt, 320
ne mandate mihi; melius Telamonius ibit
eloquioque uirum morbis iraque furentem
molliet aut aliqua perducet callidus arte.
ante retro Simoïs fluet et sine frondibus Ide
stabit et auxilium promittet Achaïa Troiae, 325
quam cessante meo pro uestris pectore rebus
Aiacis stolidi Danais sollertia prosit.
sis licet infestus sociis regique mihique,
dure Philoctete, licet exsecrere meumque
deuoueas sine fine caput cupiasque dolenti 330
me tibi forte dari nostrumque haurire cruorem:
[utque tui mihi, sic fiat tibi copia nostri:]
te tamen adgrediar mecumque reducere nitar,
tamque tuis potiar (faueat Fortuna) sagittis,
quam sum Dardanio, quem cepi, uate potitus, 335
quam responsa deum Troianaque fata retexi,
quam rapui Phrygiae signum penetrale Mineruae
hostibus e mediis. et se mihi comparat Aiax?

'Nempe capi Troiam prohibebant fata sine illo.
fortis ubi est Aiax? ubi sunt ingentia magni 340
uerba uiri? cur hic metuis? cur audet Vlixes
ire per excubias et se committere nocti
perque feros enses non tantum moenia Troum
uerum etiam summas arces intrare suaque
eripere aede deam raptamque adferre per hostes? 345
quae nisi fecissem, frustra Telamone creatus
gestasset laeua taurorum tergora septem.
illa nocte mihi Troiae uictoria parta est;
Pergama tum uici, cum uinci posse coegi.

'Desine Tydiden uultuque et murmure nobis 350

323 producet *m* 332 *v. del. Heinsius, Merkel* sic *m*: sit *m* 333 mecumque reducere nitar *m*: nec inultus spero relinquar *m*: longe formidine pulsa *m* 345 auferre *m* 350 nutuque *m*

ostentare meum: pars est sua laudis in illo.
nec tu, cum socia clipeum pro classe tenebas,
solus eras: tibi turba comes, mihi contigit unus.
qui nisi pugnacem sciret sapiente minorem
esse nec indomitae deberi praemia dextrae, 355
ipse quoque haec peteret; peteret moderatior Aiax
Eurypylusque ferox claroque Andraemone natus,
nec minus Idomeneus patriaque creatus eadem
Meriones, peteret maioris frater Atridae.
quippe manu fortes nec sunt tibi Marte secundi; 360
consiliis cessere meis. tibi dextera bello
utilis; ingenium est, quod eget moderamine nostro.
tu uires sine mente geris, mihi cura futuri;
tu pugnare potes, pugnandi tempora mecum
eligit Atrides; tu tantum corpore prodes, 365
nos animo, quantoque ratem qui temperat anteit
remigis officium, quanto dux milite maior,
tantum ego te supero. nec non in corpore nostro
pectora sunt potiora manu: uigor omnis in illis.
'At uos, o proceres, uigili date praemia uestro 370
proque tot annorum cura, quibus anxius egi,
hunc titulum meritis pensandum reddite nostris.
iam labor in fine est; obstantia fata remoui
altaque posse capi faciendo Pergama cepi.
per spes nunc socias casuraque moenia Troum 375
perque deos oro, quos hosti nuper ademi,
per si quid superest, quod sit sapienter agendum,
[si quid adhuc audax ex praecipitique petendum est,
si Troiae fatis aliquid restare putatis,]
este mei memores; aut si mihi non datis arma, 380
huic date' et ostendit signum fatale Mineruae.
Mota manus procerum est, et quid facundia posset

371 curis *m* quibus *m*: quas, quos *m* 378–9 *vv. suspectos Heinsio del. Bentley* 378 audendum *Kenney* 382 possit *m*

re patuit, fortisque uiri tulit arma disertus.
Hectora qui solus, qui ferrum ignesque Iouemque
sustinuit totiens, unam non sustinet iram, 385
inuictumque uirum uincit dolor. arripit ensem,
et 'meus hic certe est; an et hunc sibi poscit Vlixes?
hoc' ait 'utendum est in me mihi, quique cruore
saepe Phrygum maduit, domini nunc caede madebit,
ne quisquam Aiacem possit superare nisi Aiax.' 390
Dixit, et in pectus tum demum uulnera passum,
qua patuit ferro, letalem condidit ensem.
nec ualuere manus infixum educere telum:
expulit ipse cruor, rubefactaque sanguine tellus
purpureum uiridi genuit de caespite florem, 395
qui prius Oebalio fuerat de uulnere natus.
littera communis mediis pueroque uiroque
inscripta est foliis, haec nominis, illa querelae.
Victor ad Hypsipyles patriam clarique Thoantis
et ueterum terras infames caede uirorum 400
uela dat, ut referat Tirynthia tela sagittas.
quae postquam ad Graios domino comitante reuexit,
imposita est sero tandem manus ultima bello.
[Troia simul Priamusque cadunt; Priameïa coniunx
perdidit infelix hominis post omnia formam 405
externasque nouo latratu terruit auras,
longus in angustum qua clauditur Hellespontus.]
Ilion ardebat, neque adhuc consederat ignis,
exiguumque senis Priami Iouis ara cruorem
conbiberat; raptata comis antistita Phoebi 410
non profecturas tendebat ad aethera palmas;
Dardanidas matres patriorum signa deorum,
dum licet, amplexas succensaque templa tenentes

403 est sero *m*: estque fero, est saeuo *m* 404–7 *uu. del. Bentley* 406 aures *m*: urbes, agros, oras *m* 410 raptata *Heinsius*: tractata, tractisque, tracta atque *m*

inuidiosa trahunt uictores praemia Grai;
mittitur Astyanax illis de turribus, unde 415
pugnantem pro se proauitaque regna tuentem
saepe uidere patrem monstratum a matre solebat.
iamque uiam suadet Boreas flatuque secundo
carbasa mota sonant, iubet uti nauita uentis;
'Troia, uale! rapimur' clamant, dant oscula terrae 420
Troades et patriae fumantia tecta relinquunt.
ultima conscendit classem (miserabile uisu)
in mediis Hecabe natorum inuenta sepulcris;
prensantem tumulos atque ossibus oscula dantem
Dulichiae traxere manus. tamen unius hausit 425
inque sinu cineres secum tulit Hectoris haustos;
Hectoris in tumulo canum de uertice crinem,
inferias inopes, crinem lacrimasque reliquit.
Est, ubi Troia fuit, Phrygiae contraria tellus
Bistoniis habitata uiris. Polymestoris illic 430
regia diues erat, cui te commisit alendum
clam, Polydore, pater Phrygiisque remouit ab armis,
consilium sapiens, sceleris nisi praemia magnas
adiecisset opes, animi inritamen auari.
ut cecidit fortuna Phrygum, capit impius ensem 435
rex Thracum iuguloque sui defigit alumni
et, tamquam tolli cum corpore crimina possent,
exanimem scopulo subiectas misit in undas.
Litore Threïcio classem religarat Atrides,
dum mare pacatum, dum uentus amicior esset. 440
hic subito, quantus cum uiueret esse solebat,
exit humo late rupta similisque minanti
temporis illius uultum referebat Achilles,
quo ferus infesto petiit Agamemnona ferro,
'immemores'que 'mei disceditis,' inquit 'Achiui, 445

436 demisit *m* 444 infesto *Slater*: iniusto *M*: iniustum *Magnus*

obrutaque est mecum uirtutis gratia nostrae?
ne facite; utque meum non sit sine honore sepulcrum,
placet Achilleos mactata Polyxena manes.'
dixit, et, immiti sociis parentibus umbrae,
rapta sinu matris, quam iam prope sola fouebat, 450
fortis et infelix et plus quam femina uirgo
ducitur ad tumulum diroque fit hostia busto.
quae memor ipsa sui, postquam crudelibus aris
admota est sensitque sibi fera sacra parari,
utque Neoptolemum stantem ferrumque tenentem 455
inque suo uidit figentem lumina uultu,
'utere iamdudum generoso sanguine,' dixit;
'nulla mora est. aut tu iugulo uel pectore telum
conde meo,' iugulumque simul pectusque retexit;
'scilicet haud ulli seruire Polyxena uellem. 460
[haud per tale sacrum numen placabitis ullum;]
mors tantum uellem matrem mea fallere posset:
mater obest minuitque necis mihi gaudia, quamuis
non mea mors illi, uerum sua uita gemenda est.
uos modo, ne Stygios adeam non libera manes, 465
ite procul, si iusta peto, tactuque uiriles
uirgineo remouete manus. acceptior illi,
quisquis is est quem caede mea placare paratis,
liber erit sanguis. si quos tamen ultima nostri
uerba mouent oris (Priami uos filia regis, 470
non captiua rogat), genetrici corpus inemptum
reddite, neue auro redimat ius triste sepulcri,
sed lacrimis; tum, cum poterat, redimebat et auro.'
Dixerat. at populus lacrimas, quas illa tenebat,
non tenet; ipse etiam flens inuitusque sacerdos 475
praebita coniecto rupit praecordia ferro.
illa super terram defecto poplite labens

456 utque *m* 458 aut *m*: at *m* 460 *v. fort. delendus* 461 *v. del. Korn* 471 non *m*: nunc *m*

pertulit intrepidos ad fata nouissima uultus;
tum quoque cura fuit partes uelare tegendas,
cum caderet, castique decus seruare pudoris. 480
Troades excipiunt deploratosque recensent
Priamidas et quid dederit domus una cruoris;
teque gemunt, uirgo, teque, o modo regia coniunx,
regia dicta parens, Asiae florentis imago,
nunc etiam praedae mala sors, quam uictor Vlixes 485
esse suam nollet, nisi quod tamen Hectora partu
edideras: dominum matri uix repperit Hector.
quae corpus complexa animae tam fortis inane,
quas totiens patriae dederat natisque uiroque
huic quoque dat lacrimas; lacrimas in uulnera fundit 490
osculaque ore tegit consuetaque pectora plangit
canitiemque suam concreto in sanguine uerrens
plura quidem, sed et haec laniato pectore dixit:
'Nata, tuae (quid enim superest?) dolor ultime matris,
nata, iaces, uideoque tuum, mea uulnera, uulnus. 495
en, ne perdiderim quemquam sine caede meorum,
tu quoque uulnus habes. at te, quia femina, rebar
a ferro tutam; cecidisti et femina ferro,
totque tuos idem fratres, te perdidit idem,
exitium Troiae nostrique orbator, Achilles. 500
at postquam cecidit Paridis Phoebique sagittis,
"nunc certe" dixi "non est metuendus Achilles";
nunc quoque mi metuendus erat. cinis ipse sepulti
in genus hoc saeuit, tumulo quoque sensimus hostem:
Aeacidae fecunda fui. iacet Ilion ingens, 505
euentuque graui finita est publica clades,
sed finita tamen; soli mihi Pergama restant,
in cursuque meus dolor est. modo maxima rerum,
tot generis natisque potens nuribusque uiroque,

487 edideras *Heinsius*: -at *M* 494 matri *m* 495 meum, tua uulnera, pectus *m*: tuum, mea funera, funus *Heinsius* 496 en *Bernegger*: et *M*

nunc trahor exul, inops, tumulis auulsa meorum, 510
Penelopae munus, quae me data pensa trahentem
matribus ostendens Ithacis "haec Hectoris illa est
clara parens, haec est" dicet "Priameïa coniunx."
postque tot amissos tu nunc, quae sola leuabas
maternos luctus, hostilia busta piasti. 515
inferias hosti peperi; quo ferrea resto,
quidue moror? quo me seruas, damnosa senectus?
quo, di crudeles, nisi uti noua funera cernam,
uiuacem differtis anum? quis posse putaret
felicem Priamum post diruta Pergama dici? 520
felix morte sua est: nec te, mea nata, peremptam
aspicit et uitam pariter regnumque reliquit.
at, puto, funeribus dotabere, regia uirgo,
condeturque tuum monumentis corpus auitis.
non haec est fortuna domus; tibi munera matris 525
contingent fletus peregrinaeque haustus harenae.
omnia perdidimus; superest, cur uiuere tempus
in breue sustineam, proles gratissima matri,
nunc solus, quondam minimus de stirpe uirili,
has datus Ismario regi Polydorus in oras. 530
quid moror interea crudelia uulnera lymphis
abluere et sparsos immiti sanguine uultus?'
Dixit, et ad litus passu processit anili,
albentes lacerata comas. 'date, Troades, urnam'
dixerat infelix, liquidas hauriret ut undas; 535
aspicit eiectum Polydori in litore corpus
factaque Threïciis ingentia uulnera telis.
Troades exclamant; obmutuit illa dolore,
et pariter uocem lacrimasque introrsus obortas
deuorat ipse dolor, duroque simillima saxo 540
torpet et aduersa figit modo lumina terra,
interdum toruos extollit ad aethera uultus,

517 annosa *m* 532 insonti *m* 542 sustollit, attollit *m*

nunc positi spectat uultum, nunc uulnera nati,
uulnera praecipue, seque armat et instruit ira.
qua simul exarsit, tamquam regina maneret, 545
ulcisci statuit poenaeque in imagine tota est,
utque furit catulo lactente orbata leaena
signaque nacta pedum sequitur quem non uidet hostem,
sic Hecabe, postquam cum luctu miscuit iram,
non oblita animorum, annorum oblita suorum, 550
uadit ad artificem dirae Polymestora caedis
conloquiumque petit; nam se monstrare relictum
uelle latens illi, quod nato redderet, aurum.
credidit Odrysius praedaeque adsuetus amore
in secreta uenit. tum blando callidus ore 555
'tolle moras, Hecabe,' dixit 'da munera nato.
omne fore illius, quod das, quod et ante dedisti,
per superos iuro.' spectat truculenta loquentem
falsaque iurantem tumidaque exaestuat ira
atque ita correpto captiuarum agmina matrum 560
inuocat et digitos in perfida lumina condit
expellitque genis oculos (facit ira potentem)
immergitque manus foedataque sanguine sonti
non lumen (neque enim superest), loca luminis haurit.
clade sui Thracum gens inritata tyranni 565
Troada telorum lapidumque incessere iactu
coepit; at haec missum rauco cum murmure saxum
morsibus insequitur rictuque in uerba parato
latrauit conata loqui (locus exstat et ex re
nomen habet), ueterumque diu memor illa malorum 570
tum quoque Sithonios ululauit maesta per agros.
illius Troasque suos hostesque Pelasgos,
illius fortuna deos quoque mouerat omnes,
sic omnes, ut et ipsa Iouis coniunxque sororque

554 accensus *Magnus*: adductus *Polle*: allectus *Heinsius* amori *Heinsius*
562 expilatque *m* ualentem, nocentem *m*

euentus Hecubam meruisse negauerit illos. 575
  Non uacat Aurorae, quamquam isdem fauerat armis,
cladibus et casu Troiaeque Hecabesque moueri.
cura deam propior luctusque domesticus angit
Memnonis amissi, Phrygiis quem lutea campis
uidit Achillea pereuntem cuspide mater; 580
uidit, et ille color, quo matutina rubescunt
tempora, palluerat, latuitque in nubibus aether.
at non impositos supremis ignibus artus
sustinuit spectare parens, sed crine soluto,
sicut erat, magni genibus procumbere non est 585
dedignata Iouis lacrimisque has addere uoces:
'omnibus inferior quas sustinet aureus aether
(nam mihi sunt totum rarissima templa per orbem),
diua tamen, ueni, non ut delubra diesque
des mihi sacrificos caliturasque ignibus aras; 590
si tamen aspicias, quantum tibi femina praestem,
tum cum luce noua noctis confinia seruo,
praemia danda putes. sed non ea cura neque hic est
nunc status Aurorae, meritos ut poscat honores;
Memnonis orba mei uenio, qui fortia frustra 595
pro patruo tulit arma suo primisque sub annis
occidit a forti (sic uos uoluistis) Achille.
da, precor, huic aliquem, solacia mortis, honorem,
summe deum rector, maternaque uulnera leni.'
  Iuppiter adnuerat, cum Memnonis arduus alto 600
corruit igne rogus, nigrique uolumina fumi
infecere diem, ueluti cum flumina natas
exhalant nebulas, nec sol admittitur infra;
atra fauilla uolat glomerataque corpus in unum
densetur faciemque capit sumitque calorem 605

587 quot *Heinsius* aether *m*: axis *m* 602 natas *m*: nigras *m*: latas *Burman*: lentas *Postgate*: caecas *Harries*: densas *Kenney*: opacas *Shackleton Bailey*: flumine Naïs | exhalat *Housman*

atque animam ex igni; leuitas sua praebuit alas.
et primo similis uolucri, mox uera uolucris
insonuit pennis; pariter sonuere sorores
innumerae, quibus est eadem natalis origo,
terque rogum lustrant, et consonus exit in auras 610
ter plangor; quarto seducunt castra uolatu.
tum duo diuersa populi de parte feroces
bella gerunt rostrisque et aduncis unguibus iras
exercent alasque aduersaque pectora lassant,
inferiaeque cadunt cineri cognata sepulto 615
corpora seque uiro forti meminere creatas.
praepetibus subitis nomen facit auctor: ab illo
Memnonides dictae, cum sol duodena peregit
signa, parentali morituræ uoce rebellant.
ergo aliis latrasse Dymantida flebile uisum est; 620
luctibus est Aurora suis intenta piasque
nunc quoque dat lacrimas et toto rorat in orbe.
Non tamen euersam Troiae cum moenibus esse
spem quoque fata sinunt; sacra et, sacra altera, patrem
fert umeris, uenerabile onus, Cythereïus heros. 625
de tantis opibus praedam pius eligit illam
Ascaniumque suum, profugaque per aequora classe
fertur ab Antandro scelerataque litora Thracum
et Polydoreo manantem sanguine terram
linquit et utilibus uentis aestuque secundo 630
intrat Apollineam sociis comitantibus urbem.
Hunc Anius, quo rege homines, antistite Phoebus
rite colebatur, temploque domoque recepit
urbemque ostendit delubraque nota duasque
Latona quondam stirpes pariente retentas; 635
ture dato flammis uinoque in tura profuso

611 clangor, clamor *m* 614 iactant *m* 619 periturae *m* uoce *m*: more, morte *m*: caede *Slater*: (periturae) Marte *Heinsius* 628 limina *m* 633 colebantur *m*

caesarumque boum fibris de more crematis
regia tecta petunt positique tapetibus altis
munera cum liquido capiunt Cerealia Baccho.
tum pius Anchises: 'o Phoebi lecte sacerdos, 640
fallor, an et natum, cum primum haec moenia uidi,
bisque duas natas, quantum reminiscor, habebas?'
 Huic Anius niueis circumdata tempora uittis
concutiens et tristis ait: 'non falleris, heros
maxime; uidisti natorum quinque parentem, 645
quem nunc (tanta homines rerum inconstantia uersat)
paene uides orbum. quod enim mihi filius absens
auxilium, quem dicta suo de nomine tellus
Andros habet, pro patre locumque et regna tenentem?
Delius augurium dedit huic, dedit altera Liber 650
femineae stirpi uoto maiora fideque
munera. nam tactu natarum cuncta mearum
in segetem laticemque meri canaeque Mineruae
transformabantur, diuesque erat usus in illis.
hoc ubi cognouit Troiae populator Atrides 655
(ne non ex aliqua uestram sensisse procellam
nos quoque parte putes), armorum uiribus usus
abstrahit inuitas gremio genitoris alantque
imperat Argolicam caelesti munere classem.
effugiunt quo quaeque potest. Euboea duabus 660
et totidem natis Andros fraterna petita est;
miles adest et, ni dedantur, bella minatur.
uicta metu pietas: consortia corpora poenae
dedidit, et timido possis ignoscere fratri:
non hic Aeneas, non, qui defenderet Andron, 665
Hector erat, per quem decimum durastis in annum.
iamque parabantur captiuis uincla lacertis;
illae tollentes etiamnunc libera caelo
bracchia "Bacche pater, fer opem!" dixere, tulitque

647–8 quid . . . auxilii *m* 653 canaeque *m*: bacamque *m*

muneris auctor opem – si miro perdere more 670
ferre uocatur opem. nec qua ratione figuram
perdiderint potui scire aut nunc dicere possum.
summa mali nota est: pennas sumpsere tuaeque
coniugis in uolucres niueas abiere columbas.'
Talibus atque aliis postquam conuiuia dictis 675
implerunt, mensa somnum petiere remota.
cumque die surgunt adeuntque oracula Phoebi,
qui petere antiquam matrem cognataque iussit
litora. prosequitur rex et dat munus ituris,
Anchisae sceptrum, chlamydem pharetramque nepoti, 680
cratera Aeneae, quem quondam miserat illi
hospes ab Aoniis Therses Ismenius oris.
miserat hunc illi Therses, fabricauerat Alcon
†nileus† et longo caelauerat argumento.
urbs erat, et septem posses ostendere portas; 685
hae pro nomine erant et quae foret illa docebant.
ante urbem exequiae tumulique ignesque rogique
effusaeque comas et apertae pectora matres
significant luctum; nymphae quoque flere uidentur
siccatosque queri fontes; sine frondibus arbor 690
nuda riget; rodunt arentia saxa capellae.
ecce facit mediis natas Orione Thebis
[hanc non femineum iugulo dare uulnus aperto,
illam demisso per fortia pectora telo]
pro populo cecidisse suo pulchrisque per urbem 695
funeribus ferri celebrique in parte cremari.
tum de uirginea geminos exire fauilla,
ne genus intereat, iuuenes, quos fama Coronos
nominat, et cineri materno ducere pompam.

681 transtulit *m* 684 nileus *m*: lindius *Lact. Plac.*: lidius, myleus *m* 691 lambunt *m* 693–4 *vv. del. Bentley* 693 hanc non *m*: hac non *Merkel*: agmen *m* uulnus *m*: pectus *m* 694 illac *Merkel* fortia uulnera *m*: inertia uulnera *m* demissa . . . tela *Bentley* 698 coronas *m*

hactenus antiquo signis fulgentibus aere 700
summus inaurato crater erat asper acantho.
nec leuiora datis Troiani dona remittunt,
dantque sacerdoti custodem turis acerram,
dant pateram claramque auro gemmisque coronam.
Inde recordati Teucros a sanguine Teucri 705
ducere principium, Creten tenuere locique
ferre diu nequiere Iouem centumque relictis
urbibus Ausonios optant contingere portus.
saeuit hiemps iactatque uiros, Strophadumque receptos
portubus infidis exterruit ales Aello. 710
et iam Dulichios portus Ithacamque Samenque
Neritiasque domus, regnum fallacis Vlixis,
praeter erant uecti; certatam lite deorum
Ambraciam uersique uident sub imagine saxum
iudicis, Actiaco quae nunc ab Apolline nota est, 715
uocalemque sua terram Dodonida quercu
Chaoniosque sinus, ubi nati rege Molosso
impia subiectis fugere incendia pennis.
Proxima Phaeacum felicibus obsita pomis
rura petunt; Epiros ab his regnataque uati 720
Buthrotos Phrygio simulataque Troia tenetur.
inde futurorum certi, quae cuncta fideli
Priamides Helenus monitu praedixerat, intrant
Sicaniam. tribus haec excurrit in aequora linguis,
e quibus imbriferos est uersa Pachynos ad Austros, 725
mollibus oppositum Zephyris Lilybaeon, ad Arctos
aequoris expertes spectat Boreanque Peloros.
huc subeunt Teucri, et remis aestuque secundo
sub noctem potitur Zanclaea classis harena.
Scylla latus dextrum, laeuum inrequieta Charybdis 730
infestat; uorat haec raptas reuomitque carinas,

707 Iouem *m*: luem *m* 711 Samenque *Heinsius*: Samonque *M* 724 linguis *m*: pennis, pinnis *m* 728 hunc, hac, hanc, hic, hec *m*

illa feris atram canibus succingitur aluum,
uirginis ora gerens et, si non omnia uates
ficta reliquerunt, aliquo quoque tempore uirgo.
hanc multi petiere proci; quibus illa repulsis 735
ad pelagi nymphas, pelagi gratissima nymphis,
ibat et elusos iuuenum narrabat amores.
quam, dum pectendos praebet Galatea capillos,
talibus adloquitur repetens suspiria dictis:
'Te tamen, o uirgo, genus haud immite uirorum 740
expetit, utque facis, potes his impune negare.
at mihi, cui pater est Nereus, quam caerula Doris
enixa est, quae sum turba quoque tuta sororum,
non nisi per luctus licuit Cyclopis amorem
effugere' et lacrimae uocem impediere loquentis. 745
quas ubi marmoreo detersit pollice uirgo
et solata deam est, 'refer, o carissima,' dixit
'neue tui causam tege (sic sum fida) doloris.'
Nereïs his contra resecuta Crataeide natam est:
'Acis erat Fauno nymphaque Symaethide cretus, 750
magna quidem patrisque sui matrisque uoluptas,
nostra tamen maior; nam me sibi iunxerat uni.
pulcher et octonis iterum natalibus actis
signarat teneras dubia lanugine malas.
hunc ego, me Cyclops nulla cum fine petebat; 755
nec, si quaesieris odium Cyclopis amorne
Acidis in nobis fuerit praesentior, edam:
par utrumque fuit. pro, quanta potentia regni
est, Venus alma, tui! nempe ille immitis et ipsis
horrendus siluis et uisus ab hospite nullo 760
impune et magni cum dis contemptor Olympi
quid sit amor sentit ualidaque cupidine captus

732 imam *m* 738 quam *m*: cui *m* 739 referens *m* 754 signabat *m* 756 nec *m*: en *m* 762 sensit *m* ualidaque *m*: nostrique *m* tactus *m*

uritur, oblitus pecorum antrorumque suorum.
iamque tibi formae, iamque est tibi cura placendi,
iam rigidos pectis rastris, Polypheme, capillos, 765
iam libet hirsutam tibi falce recidere barbam
et spectare feros in aqua et componere uultus;
caedis amor feritasque sitisque immensa cruoris
cessant, et tutae ueniunt abeuntque carinae.
Telemus interea Siculam delatus ad Aetnen, 770
Telemus Eurymides, quem nulla fefellerat ales,
terribilem Polyphemon adit "lumen"que "quod unum
fronte geris media, rapiet tibi" dixit "Vlixes."
risit et "o uatum stolidissime, falleris" inquit
"altera iam rapuit." sic frustra uera monentem 775
spernit et aut gradiens ingenti litora passu
degrauat aut fessus sub opaca reuertitur antra.
'Prominet in pontum cuneatus acumine longo
collis; utrumque latus circumfluit aequoris unda.
huc ferus ascendit Cyclops mediusque resedit; 780
lanigerae pecudes nullo ducente secutae.
cui postquam pinus, baculi quae praebuit usum,
ante pedes posita est antemnis apta ferendis
sumptaque harundinibus compacta est fistula centum,
senserunt toti pastoria sibila montes, 785
senserunt undae. latitans ego rupe meique
Acidis in gremio residens procul auribus hausi
talia dicta meis auditaque mente notaui:
"Candidior folio niuei, Galatea, ligustri,
floridior pratis, longa procerior alno, 790
splendidior uitro, tenero lasciuior haedo,
leuior adsiduo detritis aequore conchis,
solibus hibernis, aestiua gratior umbra,
nobilior pomis, platano conspectior alta,
lucidior glacie, matura dulcior uua, 795

794 *v. delendum esse censet Tarrant* pomis *M*: palma *Siebelis*: pinu *Bentley*

mollior et cycni plumis et lacte coacto,
et, si non fugias, riguo formosior horto;
saeuior indomitis eadem Galatea iuuencis,
durior annosa quercu, fallacior undis,
lentior et salicis uirgis et uitibus albis, 800
his immobilior scopulis, uiolentior amne,
laudato pauone superbior, acrior igni,
asperior tribulis, feta truculentior ursa,
surdior aequoribus, calcato immitior hydro,
et, quod praecipue uellem tibi demere possem, 805
non tantum ceruo claris latratibus acto,
uerum etiam uentis uolucrique fugacior aura.
"At bene si noris, pigeat fugisse morasque
ipsa tuas damnes et me retinere labores.
sunt mihi, pars montis, uiuo pendentia saxo 810
antra, quibus nec sol medio sentitur in aestu
nec sentitur hiemps. sunt poma grauantia ramos,
sunt auro similes longis in uitibus uuae,
sunt et purpureae; tibi et has seruamus et illas.
ipsa tuis manibus siluestri nata sub umbra 815
mollia fraga leges, ipsa autumnalia corna
prunaque, non solum nigro liuentia suco,
uerum etiam generosa nouasque imitantia ceras.
nec tibi castaneae me coniuge, nec tibi deerunt
arbutei fetus: omnis tibi seruiet arbor. 820
hoc pecus omne meum est; multae quoque uallibus errant,
multas silua tegit, multae stabulantur in antris.
nec, si forte roges, possim tibi dicere quot sint:
pauperis est numerare pecus. de laudibus harum
nil mihi credideris: praesens potes ipsa uidere 825
ut uix circumeant distentum cruribus uber.
sunt, fetura minor, tepidis in ouilibus agni,
sunt quoque, par aetas, aliis in ouilibus haedi.
lac mihi semper adest niueum; pars inde bibenda
seruatur, partem liquefacta coagula durant. 830
nec tibi deliciae faciles uulgataque tantum

munera contingent, dammae leporesque caperque,
parue columbarum demptusue cacumine nidus;
inueni geminos, qui tecum ludere possint,
inter se similes, uix ut dinoscere possis, 835
uillosae catulos in summis montibus ursae;
inueni et dixi 'dominae seruabimus istos.'
iam modo caeruleo nitidum caput exsere ponto,
iam, Galatea, ueni, nec munera despice nostra!
"Certe ego me noui liquidaeque in imagine uidi 840
nuper aquae, placuitque mihi mea forma uidenti.
aspice, sim quantus: non est hoc corpore maior
Iuppiter in caelo (nam uos narrare soletis
nescioquem regnare Iouem); coma plurima toruos
prominet in uultus umerosque, ut lucus, obumbrat. 845
nec, mea quod rigidis horrent densissima saetis
corpora, turpe puta; turpis sine frondibus arbor,
turpis equus, nisi colla iubae flauentia uelent.
pluma tegit uolucres, ouibus sua lana decori est;
barba uiros hirtaeque decent in corpore saetae. 850
unum est in media lumen mihi fronte, sed instar
ingentis clipei. quid? non haec omnia magnus
Sol uidet e caelo? Soli tamen unicus orbis.
adde quod in uestro genitor meus aequore regnat:
hunc tibi do socerum. tantum miserere precesque 855
supplicis exaudi: tibi enim succumbimus uni,
quique Iouem et caelum sperno et penetrabile fulmen,
Nereï, te ueneror: tua fulmine saeuior ira est.
"Atque ego contemptus essem patientior huius,
si fugeres omnes; sed cur Cyclope repulso 860
Acin amas praefersque meis complexibus Acin?
ille tamen placeatque sibi placeatque licebit,
quod nollem, Galatea, tibi; modo copia detur,
sentiet esse mihi tanto pro corpore uires.
uiscera uiua traham, diuulsaque membra per agros 865

865 diuisaque *m*

perque tuas spargam (sic se tibi misceat) undas.
uror enim, laesusque exaestuat acrius ignis,
cumque suis uideor translatam uiribus Aetnen
pectore ferre meo – nec tu, Galatea, moueris."
  'Talia nequiquam questus (nam cuncta uidebam) 870
surgit et ut taurus uacca furibundus adempta
stare nequit siluaque et notis saltibus errat,
cum ferus ignaros nec quicquam tale timentes
me uidet atque Acin "uideo"que exclamat "et ista
ultima sit faciam Veneris concordia uestrae." 875
tantaque uox, quantam Cyclops iratus habere
debuit, illa fuit; clamore perhorruit Aetne.
ast ego uicino pauefacta sub aequore mergor;
terga fugae dederat conuersa Symaethius heros
et "fer opem, Galatea, precor, mihi; ferte, parentes," 880
dixerat "et uestris periturum admittite regnis."
insequitur Cyclops partemque e monte reuulsam
mittit, et extremus quamuis peruenit ad illum
angulus e saxo, totum tamen obruit Acin.
at nos, quod fieri solum per fata licebat, 885
fecimus ut uires adsumeret Acis auitas.
puniceus de mole cruor manabat, et intra
temporis exiguum rubor euanescere coepit,
fitque color primo turbati fluminis imbre
purgaturque mora. tum moles tacta dehiscit, 890
uiuaque per rimas proceraque surgit harundo,
osque cauum saxi sonat exsultantibus undis;
miraque res, subito media tenus exstitit aluo
incinctus iuuenis flexis noua cornua cannis,
qui, nisi quod maior, quod toto caerulus ore, 895
Acis erat, sed sic quoque erat tamen Acis in amnem
uersus, et antiquum tenuerunt flumina nomen.'
  Desierat Galatea loqui, coetuque soluto

890 fracta *m*: iacta *m* 896 *fort. latet menda* sed *m*: et, quod *m*

discedunt placidisque natant Nereïdes undis.
Scylla redit (neque enim medio se credere ponto 900
audet) et aut bibula sine uestibus errat harena
aut, ubi lassata est, seductos nacta recessus
gurgitis inclusa sua membra refrigerat unda.
ecce fretum scindens alti nouus incola ponti
nuper in Euboïca uersis Anthedone membris 905
Glaucus adest uisaeque cupidine uirginis haeret
et quaecumque putat fugientem posse morari
uerba refert; fugit illa tamen ueloxque timore
peruenit in summum positi prope litora montis.
ante fretum est ingens apicem collectus in unum 910
longa sub arboribus conuexus in aequora uertex.
constitit hic et tuta loco monstrumne deusne
ille sit ignorans admiraturque colorem
caesariemque umeros subiectaque terga tegentem,
ultimaque excipiat quod tortilis inguina piscis. 915
Sensit et innitens, quae stabat proxima, moli
'non ego prodigium nec sum fera belua, uirgo,
sed deus' inquit 'aquae; nec maius in aequora Proteus
ius habet et Triton Athamantiadesque Palaemon.
ante tamen mortalis eram, sed, scilicet altis 920
debitus aequoribus, iam tum exercebar in illis.
nam modo ducebam ducentia retia pisces,
nunc in mole sedens moderabar harundine linum.
sunt uiridi prato confinia litora, quorum
altera pars undis, pars altera cingitur herbis, 925
quas neque cornigerae morsu laesere iuuencae,
nec placidae carpsistis oues hirtaeue capellae;
non apis inde tulit collectos sedula flores,
non data sunt capiti genialia serta, neque umquam
falciferae secuere manus. ego primus in illo 930
caespite consedi, dum lina madentia sicco,

915 pristis *m* 918 aequore *m* 921 debitus *Bentley*: deditus *M*

utque recenserem captiuos ordine pisces,
insuper exposui quos aut in retia casus
aut sua credulitas in aduncos egerat hamos.
res similis fictae (sed quid mihi fingere prodest?): 935
gramine contacto coepit mea praeda moueri
et mutare latus terraque ut in aequore niti;
dumque moror mirorque simul, fugit omnis in undas
turba suas dominumque nouum litusque relinquunt.
obstipui dubitoque diu causamque requiro, 940
num deus hoc aliquis, num sucus fecerit herbae.
"quae" tamen "has" inquam "uires habet herba?" manuque
pabula decerpsi decerptaque dente momordi.
uix bene combiberant ignotos guttura sucos,
cum subito trepidare intus praecordia sensi 945
alteriusque rapi naturae pectus amore;
nec potui restare diu "repetenda"que "numquam
terra, uale!" dixi corpusque sub aequora mersi.
di maris exceptum socio dignantur honore,
utque mihi quaecumque feram mortalia demant, 950
Oceanum Tethynque rogant. ego lustror ab illis
et purgante nefas nouiens mihi carmine dicto
pectora fluminibus iubeor supponere centum;
nec mora, diuersis lapsi de partibus amnes
totaque uertuntur supra caput aequora nostrum. 955
hactenus acta tibi possum memoranda referre,
hactenus et memini; nec mens mea cetera sensit.
quae postquam rediit, alium me corpore toto,
ac fueram nuper, neque eundem mente recepi;
hanc ego tum primum uiridem ferrugine barbam 960
caesariemque meam, quam longa per aequora uerro,
ingentesque umeros et caerula bracchia uidi
cruraque pinnigero curuata nouissima pisce.

955 *fort.* tortaque

quid tamen haec species, quid dis placuisse marinis,
quid iuuat esse deum, si tu non tangeris istis?' 965
   Talia dicentem, dicturum plura reliquit
Scylla deum; furit ille inritatusque repulsa
prodigiosa petit Titanidos atria Circes.

COMMENTARY

1–5 These lines establish a high tone appropriate for an episode having its origins in the Epic Cycle (see pp. 13–14 and cf. 34–42, 38, 45–54, 99nn.). The opening scene is a debate reminiscent in its position of the beginning of, for example, *Iliad* 4 (1 'The gods gathered in assembly before the house of Zeus'), 8 (2 'Zeus ... called an assembly of the gods') and 20 (4 'Zeus ordered Themis to call the gods to an assembly'), *Odyssey* 5 (3 'The gods took their seats') and 8 (Athena calls an assembly of the Phaeacians), and *Aeneid* 10 (see Harrison (1991) *ad loc.* for possible Ennian links); at the beginning of Book 3 of the *Argonautica* Apollonius inverts this convention when he has Hera and Athena meet in conclave, not in open assembly with the other gods. Ovid's own divine *concilium* occurs at 1.163–252.

A quarrel seems to have been a traditionally epic narrative opening. The *Iliad*, which begins with a quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, is the most notable example; but more relevant here is the fact that the *Little Iliad*, a now lost epic which told of events immediately subsequent to those of the *Iliad*, probably opened with a debate over the award of Achilles' arms (Proclus, *EGF* p. 52; Davies (1989) 63–4).

There is a suggestion of violence in the language used here to describe Ajax, and until he begins to speak it is not quite clear whether he is about to resort to words or to deeds: *corona* can mean 'ring of soldiers' or 'cordon of troops' (*OLD* s.v. 4b) as well as 'the crowd present at a judicial sitting' (ibid., 4a); line 2 characterises Ajax in fighting mode; the use of *surgo*, especially with *ad*, might refer to an 'act of hostility' (*OLD* s.v. 3) rather than to his rising to speak (ibid., 1b); *impatiens* (3) can mean 'unable to tolerate' as well as 'impatient of'; *toruo* and the wild glance seem threatening; and *manus intendere* (4) can signify a violent as well as a demonstrative action (*OLD* s.v. *intendo* 6a). Ajax is to speak forcefully: he is never far from violence.

1 The opening line, setting the scene for the long debate to follow, is reminiscent of the beginning of *Aeneid* Book 2 *conticuere omnes, intentique ora tenebant; | inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto*: in both cases an enthralling rhetorical performance is about to start. It is

echoed and adapted by Juvenal in a satirical description of the anxiety and trepidation of an advocate who is about to begin his case: *consedere duces, surgis tu pallidus Aiax* (7.115). Ovid's account was clearly famous in Juvenal's day; cf. 5–8n.

Consedere duces picks up the closing words of Book 12, *a se Tantalides onus inuidiamque remouit | Argolicosque duces mediis considere castris | iussit et arbitrium litis traiecit in omnes*. The same technique is used in the transition between Books 8 and 9: 8.884 *gemitus sunt uerba secuti* ~ 9.1–2 *quae gemitus ... Neptunius heros | causa rogat*; elsewhere other types of transition are found, e.g. straight continuation of the narrative (Books 2/3, 6/7, 9/10, 13/14) or introduction of a new story with words such as *dum* (4/5, 10/11), *interea* (14/15), *nescius* (11/12), or *at non* (3/4). The two halves of the *Aeneid* are linked by a verbal echo of the type found here (6.901 or 900 *stant litore puppes* ~ 7.1 *litoribus nostris*). Similar echoes are found between Books 9/10 and 22/23 of the *Iliad*. The effect here is resoundingly epical.

Consedere: the judges are now 'sitting' (*OLD* s.v. *consido* 1b).

uulgi stante corona: in Roman military assemblies troops stood in the same order as in battle (Livy 8.32.11).

2 surgit ad hos renders the Greek expressions τοῖσι δ' ἀνιστάμενος or τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη ('rising up / he rose up before them'), which are often used in Homer as prelude to direct speech – for example, before the angry address of Achilles to Agamemnon at the beginning of the *Iliad*: 'When they were gathered together, swift-footed Achilles stood up before them and said ...' (1.57–8).

hos 'the latter', referring to *uulgi* (1): Ajax makes the mistake of appealing to those who have no vote (123–4 *uulgique secutum | ultima murmur erat*), whereas Ulysses addresses himself to the *proceres* (126, 382): see p. 18.

clipei dominus septemplicis Aiax: Ovid had first used these words at *Am.* 1.7.7, in a passage where the *furor* of Ajax in killing the sheep and of Orestes after killing his mother are compared to the *furor* of the poet in having had the temerity to hit his mistress. The phrase is a typically grand expression reminiscent of Homeric 'stock epithets' ('Hector of the flashing helmet', etc.); see Broadhead (1960) on Aesch. *Pers.* 378–9.

The famous and characteristic 'sevenfold shield' is described at *Il.* 7.219–23: 'Ajax came up bearing his towerlike shield, bronze with

seven oxhides, which Tychius, best of leather-workers, had made for him: it was he who made the gleaming shield from seven hides of well-fed bulls, and applied an eighth layer of bronze.' Such tower-like shields were used in the Mycenaean period to provide cover for a warrior's whole body (see Kirk (1990) *ad loc.* and on *Il.* 6.117–18).

The phrase *clipei septemplicis* occurs at *Aen.* 12.925 (Aeneas' spear pierces the shield of Turnus), and Virgil may well have coined *septemplex* as an equivalent for Homer's ἑπταβόειος ('of seven ox-hides').

dominus: 402n.

3 utque erat impatiens irae 'and, unable as he was to govern his anger, ...' For this use of *ut* to explain an action by reference to a general characteristic see *OLD* s.v. 20b.

Ovid often attaches *-que* to a subordinate clause when it in fact links the preceding and following main clauses.

impatiens irae: 1–5n. Similarly the anger of Achilles is described as unceasing, unquenchable, etc.: cf. *Il.* 1.223–4 'Achilles once more addressed Agamemnon with baneful words, and did not yet cease from anger' (οὔ πω λῆξε χόλοιο), 81, 192, 9.260, 678.

Sigeïa (Σιγήια)**:** Sigeum and Rhoeteum were promontories NW of Troy. Neither is mentioned by Homer, but later literature identified them as the places where Ajax and Achilles respectively beached their ships, protecting each end of the Greek line (*Il.* 8.224–6). Ajax was reputed to be buried at Rhoeteum, and Achilles and Patroclus at Sigeum (Strabo 13.1.30–2).

3–4 toruo | ... uultu: the same phrase is used of Hecuba at line 542. Here it may be the equivalent of Homer's βλοσυροῖσι προσώπασι ('grim visage'), used to describe Ajax' expression as he approaches his duel with Hector at *Il.* 7.212; but *toruus* was twice used by Pacuvius in his *Armorum iudicium* of Ajax' demeanour during the trial: 43–4 W = 37, 36 R^3 *feroci ingenio, toruus praegrandi gradu* and *cum recordor eius ferocem et toruam confidentiam* (presumably spoken by Ulysses). Cf. 125–7n.

For the unusually wide separation of the adjective from its noun cf. e.g. 8.213–14, 10.110–11 (Bömer *ad loc.*). The effect is not always obviously descriptive, but here it may represent the broad sweep of his gaze: the phrase itself 'takes in' *litora ... classemque in litore.*

4 litora ... litore: a striking illustration of the equivalence of 'poetic plural' and singular. Cf. 78, 80n., 636, 909.

5 intendensque manus: he makes an expansive gesture,

stretching out his arms towards the line of ships, the scene of his greatest exploit (82–97n. §4); cf. 380–1, where he points to the Palladium. For similar gestures cf. Oakley (1997) on Livy 6.20.10 (Cic. *Mil.* 17, Livy 1.26.11, 7.20.4, Tac. *Ann.* 3.23.1). The invocation of Jupiter suggests that Ajax' hands are outstretched also in prayer (*OLD* s.v. *tendo* 1a). Agamemnon's ship, where the meeting is to be imagined as taking place, was in the middle of the line (3n.): 12.627 *mediis . . . castris.*

5–8 Quintilian cites this passage (and quotes the words *agimus . . . Vlixes*) as an example of how the place where a speech is delivered can be turned to advantage (5.10.41). Elsewhere (1.5.43) he quotes *consedere duces* from line 1, together with *deuenere locos* and *conticuere omnes* (*Aen.* 1.365, 2.1). Quintilian cites Ovid rarely; the fact that two of his quotations are from here suggests that the passage was very well known, singled out perhaps for study in the schools because it was Ovid's most obviously rhetorical set piece. Cf. 1n. on Juvenal.

pro: the interjection (*OLD* s.v. *pro*²), not the preposition. Usually it is prefixed to *Iuppiter*, *di immortales*, etc. (though not at line 758).

5–6 agimus . . . causam 'we each conduct our case', draws attention right at the start to the forensic and rhetorical nature of the episode. Similarly *confertur* (6) shows that underlying the two speeches is a formal comparison (*collatio*, σύγκρισις) of a type familiar from the schools of rhetoric.

6 et mecum confertur Vlixes: these words are echoed by Ulysses at 338 *et se mihi comparat Aiax?* Here, however, *confertur* continues the ambiguities discussed in 1–5n.: as well as 'compare', *confero* also means 'pit against' in battle (*OLD* s.v. 15–16).

et: indignant, emphasising Ulysses' temerity in challenging him in this of all places.

7–8 Ajax begins by alluding to the events of *Iliad* 15: when in the absence of Achilles the Trojans, led by Hector, breached the rampart, forced the Greeks back to their ships, and attempted to set them on fire, it was Ajax who urged on the allies and who showed most determination in the fight (674–746). He returns to this subject at lines 91–4; Ulysses addresses it at 268–79.

8 quas . . . quas: forceful anaphora.

fugaui: in Book 16 of the *Iliad* the hard-pressed Greeks receive reinforcements led by Patroclus (108–9n.), and the Trojans are driven

back. Ajax comes face to face with Hector, who has no choice but to retreat together with his troops.

9–10 Ulysses as described by Ajax has some of the characteristics of the Virgilian Drances: *Aen.* 11.338–9 *lingua melior, sed frigida bello | dextera*, 378 *copia fandi*.

9 igitur: ironical. Ulysses is not a stalwart fighter (7–8), and it is *therefore* better for him to compete in words.

fictis ... uerbis: at Virg. *Aen.* 9.602 Ulysses is called *fandi fictor*. Here, however, *fictis* is ambiguous, suggesting 'artfully contrived' as well as 'false', 'lying'.

11 isti: *iste* is used in lawcourt speeches to point out one's opponent (Greek οὑτοσί); cf. 12, 19, 37, 58, 117, 157, 237. Often it has a derogatory connotation (*OLD* s.v. 5b).

Marte feroci: the metonymic use of a god's name to denote the field which he or she represents is a feature of the high poetic style. Greek epic uses the name of the war god Ares in the same way.

12 ualeo is literal, *ualet* metaphorical, and the phrase *ualet ... loquendo* is almost an oxymoron: Ulysses only 'talks a good fight'.

13 nec ... tamen 'and yet ... not'.

Pelasgi 'Greeks'. In Homer the Pelasgians are allies of the Trojans, but the word is used there also to qualify the names of peoples who had had contact with the Pelasgians or whose ancestors had been of Pelasgian stock. In particular, the adjective was applied to the Argives; and, since 'Argive' was an epic synonym for the Greeks as a whole, 'Pelasgian' seems to have come to be used in the same way by post-Homeric poets: cf. 29, 44, 107nn. Ennius probably employed the word first in Latin poetry (*Annals* 14 Skutsch (1985)); it was borrowed by Virgil in the *Aeneid* and by other Augustan poets.

14 narret: disparaging (cf. 12 *ualet ... loquendo*, 843–4n.).

15 The repeated relatives *quae ... quorum* echo *quas ... quas* in line 8, and help to emphasise the contrast between the deeds of the two heroes.

quorum nox conscia sola est: at lines 98–100 Ajax elaborates on this point, referring to the Doloneia and the capture of Helenus and of the Palladium; he concludes *luce nihil gestum, nihil est Diomede remoto*. The implication is that, as well as being unsubstantiated, Ulysses' actions are 'shady' and unfit for the scrutiny of day. Ulysses vigorously defends himself at lines 243 and 341–5, saying that darkness added to the danger of his operations.

16 praemia magna peto, fateor 'great, I admit, is the prize I seek'. *peto* is a conjecture, all the MSS having *peti*, the passive infinitive ('I admit that the prize we seek is a great one'); but the indicative allows *fateor* to have its usual parenthetic function and avoids the anticipation of rivalry, which is better introduced by *aemulus* (17). Cf. 31 *fraterna peto*, 150, 158, 180, 356 (but 97, 122 *peti*).

17–18 Aiaci . . . Vlixes: the mere fact of the prize having been coveted by Ulysses will devalue Ajax' pride in having obtained it. The two proper names frame the sentence: word-order reinforces their rivalry. The fact that Ajax speaks of himself in the third person gives added dignity (cf. 28, 97, 240, 304–5, 341, 448, 594, 860).

17 tenuisse = *obtinuisse*. Latin writers not uncommonly use uncompounded verbs in the same specialised sense as compounds. On the use of simple for compound verbs as an aspect of poetic diction see Williams (1960) on Virg. *Aen.* 5.41.

18 hoc refers to *quicquid*. For this unemphatic use cf. *OLD* s.v. *hic*[1] 10.

19–20 In the *Armorum iudicium* of Accius (cf. 3–4, 37, 52–4, 83nn.) Ulysses appears to have uttered self-depreciatory sentiments which may have inspired Ovid here: *nam tropaeum ferre me a forti uiro | pulcrum est; si autem uincar, uinci a tali nullum mi est probrum* (99–100 W = 148–9 R[3]). The idea is however a commonplace: cf. 5.191–2, 9.6–7, 12.80–1, Hom. *Il.* 13.414–16, Virg. *Aen.* 10.829–30, 11.688–9.

20 quod 'in that'.

feretur 'he will be spoken of' (cf. *OLD* s.v. *fero* 34b). The word picks up *tulit* (19): the only 'prize' which Ulysses will receive will be the glory of having competed.

21–33 Ajax claims that his *uirtus* is supported by *nobilitas*: he is son of Telamon, grandson of Aeacus, and great-grandson of Jupiter himself; and he is related to Achilles, son of Telamon's brother Peleus. Ulysses, by contrast, is from criminal stock.

21 Atque: emphatic, 'and what is more . . .' (*OLD* s.v. 2a).

22 Telamone creatus: cf. 346, 12.624. Both *creatus* and *cretus* (from *cresco*: cf. 31) are often combined with an ablative at line-end in hexameter poetry: such phrases are a feature of the high epic style. Elsewhere Ajax is called *Telamone satus* (123), *Telamonius* (194, 266, 321), and *Telamoniades* (231); the latter two words are stock epithets for him in Homer.

23 Hercules, with Telamon as his second in command, captured

Troy a generation before the Trojan War when King Laomedon refused to hand over the horses which he had promised as reward for Hercules' rescuing his daughter Hesione from a sea-monster sent by Poseidon (Neptune). The story is mentioned in passing at *Il.* 5.638–42, 648–51; cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.9, 6.4.

24 Telamon and Hercules were members of the Argonautic expedition led by Jason to fetch the Golden Fleece back from Colchis on the Black Sea coast.

intrauit may have aggressive overtones, or may perhaps suggest that the shore formed a bay.

Pagasaea: the Argo was built at Pagasae in Thessaly, and the name Pagasae was traditionally connected with *pēgnūmi*, 'fit together', 'construct'.

25–6 During his lifetime Aeacus was reputed to be the most just and pious of men, and after his death he became judge of the dead in the Underworld together with his brothers Minos and Rhadamanthys, and others: see 9.440–1; Plato, *Apology* 41a; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.6 with the notes of Frazer (1921).

25 silentibus: the silent dead, so called by Virgil at *Aen.* 6.264, 432. In Homer the souls of the dead are represented as audible but not as intelligible: they are described as 'gibbering' or 'squeaking' at *Il.* 23.101 (τετριγυῖα) and *Od.* 24.5 (τρίζουσαι), and in Book 11 of the *Odyssey* they cannot speak articulately until they have drunk sacrificial blood. Cf. *Aen.* 6.492–3, where the shades raise a *uocem* | *exiguam*.

26 Aeoliden . . . Sisyphon: the phrase is borrowed from Greek poetry: Σίσυφος Αἰολίδης *Il.* 6.154, *al.* Sisyphus' unending punishment, his having to push uphill a rock which always rolled back just before the top, is described at *Od.* 11.593–600, but his crime is not there recorded. Later writers state that he was punished by Zeus for betraying to her father Asopus the whereabouts of Aegina, whom Zeus had abducted: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.3. At 4.460 Ovid uses similar vocabulary to describe Sisyphus' task: *aut petis aut urges rediturum, Sisyphe, saxum.* Although the transitive use of *urgeo* in that passage supports the less well attested variant reading *Aeolides . . . Sisyphus* here (*OLD* s.v. *urgeo* 4), the emphasis on the weight of the stone seems to fit better with Sisyphus as object of the verb.

At this stage of Ajax' speech, mention of Sisyphus appears to be no more than a conventional reference to a notorious malefactor

whom Aeacus is called on to judge; but in fact it looks forward to lines 31–2, where Ajax claims that Ulysses is the son of Sisyphus: see the n. *ad loc.*

Aeolus (Aíolos) was the mythological figure who gave his name to the Aeolic peoples of Greece; but it is relevant here that the Greek adjective *aiólos*, to which his name is related, can mean 'shifty' or 'slippery': Sisyphus (and hence Ulysses) is from untrustworthy stock. Virgil alludes to the same disreputable etymology at *Aen.* 6.529, where Deiphobus speaks of Ulysses as *hortator scelerum Aeolides* – a phrase borrowed by Ovid at line 45.

Ulysses does not reply directly to this insinuation, but affirms his own illustrious ancestry at lines 140–7.

27 agnoscit 'acknowledged as his own': the usual legal term.

summus: a common epithet of Jupiter in Latin poetry from Ennius onwards. It is probably a translation of Greek *hypatos* or *hypsistos*, often applied to Zeus.

28 tertius: third in line of descent from Jupiter, the earlier descendants being Aeacus and Telamon.

Aiax: 17–18n.

29–31 Ajax says that distinguished ancestry does not necessarily count for anything; but that his lineage shared with Achilles is an argument for keeping the arms 'in the family'.

29 nec . . . prosit 'let this line of descent not be of use for my suit . . . unless . . .' His descent from Jupiter is important not in itself, but because Achilles shares it with him.

Achiui: in Homer the same word, *Achaioi*, means 'Greeks'; cf. the extension of meaning of *Pelasgi* (13n.).

31 frater erat, fraterna peto: *frater* = *frater patruelis*, 'cousin' (cf. 41, 157) – a common use of the word (*OLD* s.v. 2). Achilles was son of Peleus, the brother of Telamon. The same argument is found in a tragic fragment, probably from the *Armorum iudicium* of Accius (Acc. 106–8 W; trag. inc. 52–4 R[3]) *me est aecum frui | fraternis armis mihique adiudicarier | uel quod propinquus uel quod uirtuti aemulus . . .*

31–2 sanguine cretus | Sisyphio: Ajax now makes more explicit the infamous details behind his earlier reference to Sisyphus (26). Sisyphus, by repute the most cunning and wily of men (at *Il.* 6.153 he is called κέρδιστος . . . ἀνδρῶν, 'craftiest of men'), was said by some to have had intercourse with Anticleia before her marriage

to Laertes, and to have been the true father of Odysseus. That story can be traced back only as far as Aeschylus' *Judgement of Arms* (*TGF* F 175 Radt); but already in Homer Odysseus is associated with a man of outstanding cunning, his grandfather Autolycus, who 'exceeded all men in thieving and lying' (*Od.* 19.395–6 ὃς ἀνθρώπους ἐκέκαστο | κλεπτοσύνηι θ' ὅρκωι τε; cf. Ovid's *furtis . . . et fraude*). On Autolycus see 11.313–15; on *sanguine cretus* 22n.

furtisque et fraude: see previous n. These words are found linked at Cic. *Q. Rosc.* 26, Sen. *Ag.* 207, *Dial.* 4.9.4, and elsewhere (*TLL* VI 1269.39–42); clearly they are a rhetorical cliché with an effect which is reinforced by alliteration.

33 It was important for a Roman family that their *nomen* should not be eclipsed by that of another *gens*: see Oakley (1998) on Livy 8.30.9.

inseris: conative present. If this, rather than *inserit*, is the correct reading, he suddenly addresses Ulysses directly; cf. 77–9, 83, 112–16. Ulysses uses the same technique at 238, 299, 341.

Probably *inseris* is from *insero*, perf. *inseui*, 'graft on': *insitiuus* is applied to children introduced into a family tree under false pretences (*OLD* s.v. 2b). It is less likely that it is from *insero*, perf. *inserui*, 'intrude on', 'insert in' (cf. 166), a legal term for the adding of names to lists or documents.

34–42 Ajax points out that he went to Troy willingly, while Ulysses feigned madness in the hope of avoiding his duty. He claims that it would be unfair for the coward to be preferred to the brave man.

The story of Ulysses' attempt to avoid the Trojan expedition is not referred to by Homer, but seems to have been told first in the *Cypria*, a later poem of the archaic period which recounted events which took place before the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The details of the account there given are not clear, since the poem is lost; but later authors report that when the envoys arrived to summon him on the expedition Ulysses, knowing from an oracle that he would only return from the Trojan War after twenty years, alone and destitute, yoked an ox and an ass together and began to sow with salt. His ruse was detected by Palamedes, who placed the infant Telemachus in front of the plough; Ulysses stopped ploughing, and thus showed that he was not mad. It was for this reason that Ulysses conceived

the hatred which was to result in Palamedes' death (lines 55–60). See the note of Frazer (1921) on Apollod. *Epit.* 3.7.

34 nulloque sub indice: literally, 'under no informer', i.e. not compelled to go to war by a figure like Palamedes (34–42n.). For this use of *sub* for the agent see *OLD* s.v. 13b. *index* is cognate with *indicare.*

35–9 potiorque . . . arma: the narrative moves on quickly and allusively with enjambment in lines 36–8, and the sentence culminates with *arma*, which picks up *arma . . . arma* in lines 34–5: if Ulysses avoided arms then, why should he be awarded them now?

35 potiorque uidebitur 'will be deemed to have a better title [to the arms]'. The language is legalistic: *OLD* s.v. *potior*² 3a, *uideo* 22.

36 ultima: sc. *arma.*

36–7 detractauitque . . . | militiam 'refused, i.e. tried to escape, military service' – a phrase common in prose writing (*TLL* v 835.26–31), but found only here in verse.

37 sollertior isto: the words perhaps imply that Ulysses' hatred arose not so much on account of his detection, but because he was outwitted by Palamedes, who was famed for his cunning and ingenuity. A tragic fragment, probably from Accius' *Armorum iudicium*, speaks of Palamedes' *perspicax prudentia* (Acc. 112 W; trag. inc. 58 R³).

38 sibi inutilior: Palamedes was 'less useful to himself' than he was to the common cause, because his helpful action resulted in his own death. Palamedes' death, engineered by Ulysses, was a byword for unjust treatment. The story was told in the *Cypria* (34–42n.) and was treated by, amongst others, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; there exists a *Defence speech of Palamedes* by the fifth-century BC rhetorician Gorgias (fr. 11a, vol. II pp. 294–303 D–K), and the fourth-century BC sophist Alcidamas wrote a *Speech of Odysseus against Palamedes on a charge of treason* (Λόγος Ὀδυσσέως κατὰ Παλαμήδους προδοσίας). There were various accounts of the manner of his death. The best known was that Ulysses contrived to bury gold under Palamedes' tent, forge a letter, and accuse him of taking treasonous bribes; Palamedes was then stoned to death after failing to prove his innocence to the satisfaction of the Greeks. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.81–5.

timidi: cf. 111, 115.

39 Naupliades: Palamedes, son of Nauplius; cf. 310. *-adēs* is a Greek patronymic suffix; cf. 22n.

traxit alludes to *detractauit . . . militiam* (36–7): Palamedes provided the counter to Ulysses' ruse.

40 quia: some MSS read *qui*; but *quia* is less obvious and more scornful, and does not divert from the incredulous and indignant contrast between *optima* and *ulla*, which frame the verse. *quia* is picked up in line 42; cf. 55.

sumat . . . sumere: *arma sumere* usually means 'take up arms' (*OLD* s.v. *sumo* 1b), and that is the meaning of *sumere* here; *sumat* plays on a different meaning of the verb, 'assume possession of' (*OLD* 5).

41–2 donis patruelibus: *donum* can mean 'prize given for military service' (*OLD* s.v. 2b), and this prize comes from his cousin Achilles.

41 patruelibus: 31n.

43 atque 'and indeed' (cf. 21).

uerus furor alludes to *commenta* (38). There is irony in Ajax' emphasis on the feigned madness of Ulysses (cf. 36–7): shortly after this speech he will himself be afflicted with *uerus furor* (though Ovid will not refer to this explicitly at lines 382–98).

creditus: sc. *uerus esse.*

44–5 comes . . . | hortator scelerum: the words are a quotation from *Aen.* 6.528–9, where in the Underworld Deiphobus, who had married Helen after the death of Paris, relates how during the sack of Troy his wife treacherously summoned to their bedroom Menelaus and Ulysses: *inrumpunt thalamo, comes additus una | hortator scelerum Aeolides*; *arces* is perhaps an allusion to line 519, where Helen signals to the Greeks *summa . . . ex arce.* Ovid has already adopted *Aeolides* in line 26 (q.v. n.). In Virgil, the *scelus* to which Ulysses exhorts Menelaus is the physical mutilation of the unarmed and helpless Deiphobus; Ovid's Ajax here refers to the Philoctetes and Palamedes episodes.

44 Phrygias: 'Phrygian' had been used as a synonym for 'Trojan' at least since the time of Euripides, although in Homer Phrygians and Trojans seem to be differentiated. Troy was in an area known in the classical period as Lesser Phrygia (ἡ μικρὰ Φρυγία). Cf. 13, 29, 107nn.

arces: this word is often used for 'city' in defensive contexts (*OLD* s.v. 2): there is no specific reference here to the acropolis of Troy, though there may be at line 196.

45–54 The story of Philoctetes is referred to briefly in the *Iliad* (2.716–25) and was told at length in the *Cypria* (34–42n.); Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides composed tragedies on the subject, as did Accius; Sophocles' *Philoctetes* is still extant. The best-known version of the story has the Greeks on their way to Troy abandon Philoctetes at the suggestion of Ulysses on the island of Lemnos, because they could not bear the stench from his wounded foot, which had been bitten by a water snake. The *Little Iliad* (1–5n.) continued the story. After ten years of war, the Greeks learned from a prophecy that Troy would not be captured without the bow and arrows of Hercules, which Philoctetes possessed (and which he had used in the mean time to provide himself with food, 53–4). Diomedes (in the tragedies, Ulysses) was sent to persuade Philoctetes to rejoin the expedition. Cured of his wound by a doctor in the Greek camp, he killed Paris in a duel. Cf. 313–38, 401–3.

45 Poeantia proles: Philoctetes was son of Poeas (cf. 313 *Poeantiaden*), who according to some accounts took part in the Argonautic expedition. Ovid follows Virgil in using the archaic/poetic *proles*, 'offspring', with an adjective referring to the father or mother, as a metrically convenient form of 'epic periphrasis' for a character's name; similar expressions are found in Homer (*Il.* 4.367 Καπανήιος υἱός, etc.). Here, however, the expression adds to the indignant effect of Ajax' speech.

46 expositum: sc. from his ship.

Lemnos ... haberet: the use of a place-name as subject of the verb *habere* is unusual, and seems to be a reversal of the more normal *habere* + acc. = 'dwell in' (*OLD* s.v. 8a). It is possible that the expression reflects the Greeks' view of Philoctetes as a passive object of little importance apart from his bow and arrows: cf. 51–2n.

47 siluestribus ... antris: Philoctetes was traditionally depicted as living in a harsh and rocky environment near the seashore of Lemnos (*LIMC* VII (1994) 1.379–83, 2.322–6). *antrum*, ἄντρον, a Greek poetic word, was borrowed by the Latin poets as a highflown synonym for *specus* and *spelunca*. It can mean 'glen' as well as 'cave', and either meaning is possible here: Philoctetes may be 'hidden away in the wooded glens' of Lemnos, or living hermit-like in 'caves surrounded by trees'. Certainly in Sophocles' play he is a cave-dweller (*Phil.* 16 δίστομος πέτρα, 27 ἄντρον, 1263 παρ' ἄντροις).

48 saxa moues gemitu: even the rocks are 'moved' by his sufferings: the so-called 'pathetic fallacy' familiar from bucolic poetry, where nature is often depicted as in harmony with human emotions. It is carried to an extreme in the story of Orpheus, whose music literally moved rocks and stones and trees.

Laërtiadaeque: Ulysses, son of Laertes. Cf. however 31–2n.

precaris 'utter imprecations against'.

49 quae . . . quae: for the repeated relative cf. 8, 15.

quae . . . non uana precaris 'which you do not invoke in vain': *uana* is predicative. Some manuscripts have the subjunctive *preceris*, which could be right: 'may that prayer not be in vain'.

si di sunt 'if there are gods': an implicit challenge to the gods to act. Cf. 70 *adspiciunt oculis superi mortalia iustis*.

50 et: indignant, as in line 6 (see n.).

ille: Ajax reverts to speaking of Philoctetes in the third person.

eadem nobis 'the same as us': *idem* is sometimes constructed with the dative rather than with the more usual relative phrase or *atque*. The dative may be a Graecism (ὁ αὐτός τινι), but it may be by analogy with regular datives after *similis*, etc.

iuratus 'having sworn', the perfect passive participle but with active meaning (cf. *cenatus*, *potus*, *pransus*), a use commoner with deponent verbs (*expertus*, *partitus*, etc.). Originally the -τος/-*tus* ending had no especially active or passive overtones.

Philoctetes had been a suitor of Helen. The rivalry for her hand being so great, her father (at the suggestion of Ulysses, according to some accounts) made all the suitors swear that, if the winner should be wronged in any way as a result of his marriage, they would come to his aid. Hence arose the Greek expedition to Troy after Paris abducted Helen from Menelaus, the successful suitor. See Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.8–9.

51 pars una ducum: i.e. a member of the Greek leadership who 'took part' in the expedition: *OLD* s.v. *pars* 7. Some critics have felt that there should be a reference here to the prophecy that Troy cannot be captured without the bow and arrows of Hercules (cf. 320–38): Postgate conjectured *spes* for *pars*, Bothe *magna* for *una*.

51–2 quo successore sagittae | Herculis utuntur: literally 'whom the arrows of Hercules use as heir', i.e. 'who inherited and uses the arrows of Hercules'. Philoctetes is described as instrument

of the arrows rather than they of him, such is their fame: cf. 402 *quae* [sc. *Herculis tela*] *postquam ad Graios domino comitante reuexit* . . ., 46n.

Philoctetes acquired the bow of Hercules as reward for lighting the pyre on which the hero wished to be burned alive in order to escape the agony of the shirt poisoned in mistake by his wife. The story of Hercules' death and of the events leading up to it are told at 9.98–272.

52–4 In Sophocles' play, Philoctetes is said by the Chorus to be 'pitiable alike for his sufferings and his hunger' (185–6 ὀδύναις ὁμοῦ λιμῶι τ' οἰκτρός); he says himself that he used the bow to provide food (287–8), and that occasionally the local inhabitants would bring him something to eat (308–9). A fragment of Accius' *Philoctetes* refers to the hero's clothing himself in feathers braided together: *pro ueste pinnis membra textis contegit* (543 W = 540 R³). Another fragment refers to the use to which Hercules' bow is now put: *pinnigero, non armigero in corpore | tela exercentur haec abiecta gloria* (555–6 W = 547–8 R³).

52 morboque fameque: the words are found together at Virg. *Geo.* 4.318, with reference to the bees of Aristaeus.

fame: although *famēs* has a third-declension genitive *famĭs*, the usual ablative form ends in *-ē*, not *-ĕ*. No doubt it is influenced by the nominative ending *-ēs*, which is the same as in the fifth declension. Cf. *tabē*, *requiē*, also from nouns in *-ēs*.

54 An elaborate Golden Line, abVAB, ends this long sentence: *debita* and *spicula* are both dactylic, *Troianis* before the caesura is assonant with *fatis* at line-end, and the three heavy syllables of *exercet* after the caesura balance *Troianis* before it. A Golden Line is often used by Ovid to give an impressive conclusion to long sentences: cf. 395, 476, 639, 718, 968.

debita Troianis . . . fatis: probably arrows 'whose fate it is to cause the end of Troy' rather than 'which ought to be causing Trojan deaths'. For this sense cf. 921 *debitus aequoribus*. It is assumed that Ulysses has already captured Helenus the prophet, son of Priam, who has said that Troy cannot fall without the bow and arrows of Hercules (cf. 99n.).

exercet: see Accius 555–6 W (52–4n.).

Vlixem: for the form of the accusative (*-em* ~ *-en*) see Housman, *CP* 834.

57 This line is omitted in some MSS, and Merkel seems to have

been right to delete it. Syntactically the link with line 56 is difficult, and the sense runs on much better from 56 to 58; moreover, to understand '[if in the mean time he had died]' after *aut* seems awkward. The line seems to have been concocted from the end of 46 (*non te*) *expositum Lemnos nostro cum crimine haberet* to reinforce the link between Ulysses and shameful dishonour. *crimen* is repeated again in line 60.

58 Ulysses was 'all too mindful of the madness which was proved false with unlucky consequences [for Palamedes]': 38n. *male* here = *in damnum illius*.

59 finxit fictumque probauit: it is a mannerism particularly of Ovid to repeat a verb in its participial form as the object of a following verb: cf. 122 *referentem ornate relatis*, 189 *nunc equidem fateor, fassoque ignoscat Atrides*, 345, 425–6, 840–1, 942–3. The best-known example is *Fasti* 3.21 *Mars uidet hanc uisamque cupit potiturque cupita*; cf. Wills (1996) 316–25.

probauit: i.e. he proved it to the satisfaction of the Greeks.

60 quod iam praefoderat 'which he had already buried beforehand'. Burman's conjecture *clam* (cf. 103) would reinforce the underhandedness of Ulysses' operations, and *iam* is hardly necessary for the sense when *prae-* follows; cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 105 *clam noctu ... pondus auri ... obruit.* The verb *praefodio* is found earlier only at Virg. *Aen.* 11.473 *praefodiunt ... portas*, where *prae-* means 'in front of': Ovid has creatively developed the poetic vocabulary, making the prefix temporal rather than locatival.

61–2 aut exilio ... | aut nece: the common punishments for serious crime have been unjustly inflicted by Ulysses on those who could have been helping to win the war.

61 Achiuis: dative of disadvantage, usual with verbs connoting the removal of something: the construction is *subducere aliquid alicui*.

62 sic pugnat, sic est metuendus Vlixes '*this* is how Ulysses fights; *this* is the sort of fear that he inspires': i.e. he is to be feared not by the enemy in open fight, but by his own allies because of his clandestine machinations.

For the line-end cf. 502 *non est metuendus Achilles*.

63–81 A further illustration of Ulysses' cowardice. In the heat of battle Nestor, old and exhausted, begged Ulysses to come to his aid, without success: it was left to Diomedes to save him, and to accuse

Ulysses of cowardice. On a later occasion, Ulysses had himself called for aid, and Ajax had obliged; perhaps Ulysses would like to contest the arms under those circumstances?

The first episode to which Ajax refers is found in Book 8 of the *Iliad* (66–129): Zeus for the moment favours the Trojans, even the stoutest Greek fighters are forced to retreat, and Hector bears down on the aged Nestor, who is isolated in the mêlée as he tries to cut away the traces from a wounded horse. 'The old man would have been killed if Diomedes of the loud war cry had not noticed him; he gave a mighty shout of encouragement to Odysseus: "Noble son of Laertes, wily Odysseus, where are you running off to amongst the rabble, turning your back like a coward? Take care that no one sticks a spear in your back as you flee. Stay, so that we can ward off wild Hector from the old man." So he spoke, but cunning, godlike Odysseus did not listen; he passed by him on his way to the hollow ships of the Greeks' (90–8). Diomedes then goes on to rescue Nestor without Ulysses' help.

The Ovidian Ajax puts the worst possible interpretation on this episode: Ulysses 'betrayed' Nestor (67) and showed himself a spineless coward (69). In fact, however, the Homeric lines are not unambiguous: Ulysses' behaviour was debated already amongst scholars in antiquity. The crucial words are 'like a coward' (or perhaps 'a lowborn man', opposed to 'noble' in the previous line) and 'did not listen' (94, 97): some argued that to say that a man's behaviour is *like* that of a coward is not the same as saying that he *is* a coward; and the verb translated above 'listen' could equally well mean 'hear' – in the tumult of battle Ulysses simply did not hear the appeal of Diomedes. Most scholars today agree with those who argued in defence of Ulysses: Homer does not elsewhere depict his heroes acting in a cowardly way. But it cannot be denied that Homer states very clearly that Diomedes' appeal lacked nothing in volume: not only is he described as 'of the loud war cry' (a standard epithet for Diomedes), but he also 'gave a mighty shout' (91, 92).

The second episode occurs at *Il.* 11.411–88. This time it is Ulysses who is isolated in the fighting, and although he defends himself vigorously, he is wounded and oppressed by weight of numbers. He cries out three times for help; Menelaus hears him, and encourages Ajax to come with him to help Ulysses. Ajax covers Ulysses with his

great shield (cf. 2n.), the Trojans scatter, and Menelaus takes Ulysses by the arm and leads him out of danger. In this account there is no hint of cowardice (cf. 80–1n.); rather, Ulysses kills several Trojans and is finally oppressed by impossible odds. The Ovidian Ajax naturally ignores these aspects of the story and concentrates on the fact that after rescue by himself Ulysses withdrew from the fighting.

63 eloquio: cf. line 322, where the word is used by Ulysses himself with reference to his persuasion of Philoctetes.

In the *Iliad* old Nestor is given to reminiscence; some less sympathetic later writers treat him as an archetype of rambling senile garrulity. Ovid has in fact just given a specimen of Nestor's skills, and has invited readers to judge his credibility for themselves: most of Book 12, including the extraordinarily long, gruesome and grotesque Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs, is narrated by him. See p. 10.

fidum 'loyal', or perhaps 'reliable', 'trustworthy', with reference to Nestor's tales, and contrasting by implication with Ulysses' mendaciousness.

quoque 'even': *OLD* s.v. 4a.

uincat: cf. 115. Here it may refer back to *conuicti* (58): no amount of talk can alter the fact of his former guilt.

64 desertum . . . Nestora 'his desertion of Nestor'; 'the fact that he deserted Nestor'; literally 'Nestor deserted'. *-a* is the Greek third-declension accusative ending. Repetition of Nestor's name in the same position in successive lines emphasises the contrast between Ulysses' words and deeds: cf. 80–1 *uulnera . . . uulnere.*

65 imploraret Vlixem: in Homer's account Nestor says nothing, and it is Diomedes who appeals to Ulysses (*Il.* 8.93–6, quoted in 63–81n.). Ajax heightens the dastardliness of Ulysses' behaviour by having him refuse a direct appeal.

66 The line is inspired by Virg. *Aen.* 2.435–6, part of Aeneas' narrative to Dido of the fall of Troy: he was in the thick of the fighting when shouts from Priam's palace tore him away together with Iphitus and Pelias, neither of them useful as supporters: *quorum Iphitus aeuo | iam grauior, Pelias et uulnere tardus Vlixi.* The summoning with cries, the reference to old age, mention of Ulysses, and the verbal echo *uulnere tardus* are all elements of the Virgilian lines incorporated variously by Ovid. In Virgil, Ulysses is the enemy; in Ovid he is supposedly a *socius*, but he fails to help his ally.

fessusque senilibus annis: in the Homeric passage Diomedes says to Nestor 'your strength is gone, and hard old age oppresses you' (*Il.* 8.103).

67 non haec mihi crimina fingi contrasts with Ulysses' treatment of Palamedes: 59–60 *finxit fictumque probauit | crimen.*

mihi 'by me', dative of the agent.

68 Tydides: Diomedes, son of Tydeus: another patronymic form, like *Naupliades* in line 39.

nomine saepe uocatum: sc. *Vlixem. saepe* is an exaggeration: in the Homeric account Diomedes calls out to Ulysses only once.

69 corripuit 'rebuked him': *OLD* s.v. 6.

amico: the dative is often used after verbs of reproaching.

70 A variation on the proverbial notion that the gods eventually punish wrongdoing: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.209 *Iuppiter aut quicumque oculis haec aspicit aequis*, 49n. *iustis* here, and *aequis* in the Virgilian quotation, are emphasised by position: it is unusual for a line ending with a pause to have an adjective as its final word.

71–2 The *lex talionis*, 'do as you would be done by'.

71 en introduces Ajax' proof of his previous statement, the story of his rescue of Ulysses (63–81n.).

72 legem sibi dixerat: a standard expression (sometimes with *statuere*, *sancire*, etc.) for the act of setting up a precedent for one's own treatment.

73–4 trementem | pallentem . . . trepidantem: a travesty of the Homeric account, of course: 63–81n.

74 The line echoes and elaborates memorable phrases used at Virg. *Aen.* 4.644 and 8.709, where Dido and Cleopatra are respectively described as *pallida/pallentem morte futura*, 'pale at the prospect of death': the allusion characterises Ulysses as a timid woman.

75 molem clipei: the 'towerlike shield' of Ajax with which he protects Ulysses at *Il.* 11.485. See 2n.

texique: some ancient scholars derived *clipeus* from the Greek *kleptein*, 'steal away', or *kaluptein*, 'cover over': e.g. Servius on *Aen.* 2.389 '*clipeos' maiora scuta, quibus latemus* (cf. 79), ἀπὸ τοῦ κλέπτειν τὸ σῶμα ('from the fact that they hide the body'). For a different derivation, see 110n.

76 minimum est hoc laudis = *hoc est minima laus*: there is no glory in saving the life of a coward (*OLD* s.v. *iners* 3).

hoc: some MSS have *hic*, 'here', i.e. 'in this case'; *laudis* is then genitive after *minimum*. It is possible that the preceding neuter led to corruption of *hic* to *hoc*.

77 perstas certare 'if you persist obstinately in competing with me'. For the sudden address to Ulysses, cf. 33n.

79 mecum contende: ambiguous, 'vie with me [in fighting the enemy]' and 'vie with me [for the arms of Achilles]'. See 1–5n.

80–1 There is not a word to suggest this in Homer's account (63–81n.): far from faking his wound, Odysseus fights nobly and is eventually helped from the fray by Menelaus.

80 uulnera: cf. 78 *uulnus*, 4n. (*litora* ... *litore*). Here *uulnera* is the subject, *standi* ... *uires* the object of the verb: 'his wounds gave him no strength to stand'.

81 nullo tardatus uulnere: cf. 66 *uulnere tardus equi*. For the repetition cf. 64n.

82–97 'When Hector, with divine help, put the Greeks to flight, I laid him low; it was I who was chosen to fight him in single combat, and I was not defeated; and when the Trojans set fire to our ships, it was I who saved the day. These deeds deserve to be rewarded with the arms of Achilles.'

Here Ajax combines references to four Homeric scenes. They are arranged for maximum rhetorical effect rather than in chronological order, and show that he is able to fight Hector however the situation requires.

(1) Lines 82–4. *Il.* 15.306–27 describe how Apollo precedes Hector into battle, shakes his shield in the faces of the Greeks, fills them with fear, and puts them to flight.

(2) Lines 85–6. Ajax' laying low of Hector with a rock, which in his account is made to sound as if it followed after the flight of the Greeks, in fact took place in the preceding book of the *Iliad* at 14.409–32: while Hector's back is turned, Ajax throws a rock and stuns him; the Greeks rush up to dispatch him, but he is protected and rescued, still dazed, by his allies. This is an example of Ajax' fighting *eminus* (86).

(3) Lines 87–90. The duel of Ajax and Hector (an example of fighting *comminus*) takes place much earlier still in the *Iliad*. In Book 7, while Achilles, the best Greek warrior, has absented himself from the fighting, Hector offers to settle the whole war by single combat

with 'the best of the Achaeans' (50). Menelaus, the wronged husband (50n.), puts himself forward, but is dissuaded. After a speech of encouragement from Nestor, nine heroes (including Odysseus – a fact not mentioned here by Ajax) volunteer. The choice is made by lot, and Ajax is selected. The duel is fierce but inconclusive: dusk separates the combatants. They exchange gifts, and Hector acknowledges Ajax as 'best spearman of the Greeks' (289). For one reason and another, their combat is never resumed.

(4) Lines 91–3. We return to Book 15 of the *Iliad.* Apollo and Hector rout the Greeks, Apollo destroys the Greek defensive rampart, and Hector leads his troops against the ships. After desperate fighting, the Greeks are driven back beyond the first line of ships. Ajax, wielding a pike, leaps from ship to ship as he encourages the Greeks and wards off the enemy (674–88). Finally he is forced to retreat to one of the ship's benches, where he stands at bay, still shouting words of encouragement (727–41). The Trojans meanwhile stand ready to torch the ships. After an interlude in which Patroclus is allowed to put on Achilles' armour and come to help the Greeks (8n.), the battle narrative resumes. Hector breaks Ajax' spear, and he is forced back; a ship is fired; and Patroclus at last leads the troops of Achilles into battle (16.114–277). The Trojans are routed.

82 deos: Apollo is the main ally of the Trojans in this Homeric scene (see 82–97n. §1), but it is Zeus who orders Apollo to put the Trojans to flight (*Il.* 15.220–35) and presides over the action (593–5, 599–604, 610–12, 637, 694–5): cf. 384 *ferrum ignesque Iouemque.*

83–4 These lines are highly alliterative with t-sounds, and the effect is reinforced by the repetition of *tantum*, which in 83 means 'only', in 84 'so much' (+ partitive genitive).

83 In lines probably from Accius' *Armorum iudicium* Ajax refers ironically to his own bravery in wounding Hector and protecting the ships: *uidi te, Vlixes, saxo sternentem Hectora, | uidi tegentem clipeo classem Doricam; | ego tunc pudendam trepidus hortabar fugam* (Acc. 115–17 W = *trag. inc.* 61–3 R³). It is possible that these lines are Ovid's source for the linking of the two episodes, but hardly probable: there were many rhetorical treatments of this story.

84 trahit 'came bringing', 'brought with him': *OLD* s.v. *traho* 2c.

86 ingenti ... pondere 'a great mass [of stone]'. Homer says

that it was one of the heavy rocks (χερμάδιον) used for propping up the ships (*Il.* 14.409–11).

resupinum . . . fudi 'I laid out on his back'. *fundere* is often used in epic for 'laying low' an opponent (= *prosternere*).

88 sortemque meam uouistis: see 82–97n. §3. The lots, one marked by each of the nine volunteers, were shaken vigorously in a helmet. Homer tells us that those watching prayed that the choice should fall on Ajax or Diomedes or Agamemnon (the Ovidian Ajax does not mention these other two). It was the lot of Ajax which 'leapt' from the helmet first (*Il.* 7.170–89).

89 ualuere 'had their effect', 'availed'. For this meaning see *OLD* s.v. *ualeo* 7a.

90 fortunam pugnae 'the result of our fight': *OLD* s.v. *fortuna* 7a.

91 ferrumque ignesque Iouemque: the words are repeated by the narrator at line 384, together with *sustinuit* (88); cf. 269 *Troasque Iouemque*, where Ulysses addresses Ajax' claims.

Iouemque: 82n.

92 in Danaas classes 'against the Greek fleet'. 'Danaan' is another Homeric synonym for 'Greek': cf. 13, 29, 44, 107nn. Ulysses in his reply says *pro classe Pelasga* (268).

facundus: cf. 127 *neque abest facundis gratia dictis* (of Ulysses' speech).

93–4 meo . . . uestri: emphatically opposed.

93 mille meo protexi pectore puppes: another example of alliterative emphasis. The juxtaposition of *mille* and *meo* draws attention to Ajax' heroism.

mille: the canonical figure, as for example at Aesch. *Agam.* 45, Virg. *Aen.* 2.198 *mille carinae*. 'The exact number of the Greek ships may be obtained by statisticians from *Il.* ii [494–759] . . . but could Helen's face have launched 1186 ships?' (Austin (1971) *ad loc.*).

94 spem uestri reditus: at *Iliad* 15.504–5, in his speech of encouragement to the Greeks, Ajax asks 'If Hector captures the ships, do you expect (ἦ ἔλπεσθ') that you will all get home on foot?'

date pro tot nauibus arma: Ajax' broad breast is best suited to be protected by the armour of Achilles because it was he who protected the ships.

95–7 A highly rhetorical passage: the arms will receive more

glory from association with Ajax than he will from association with them: the arms claim him rather than he them.

95–6 quaeritur . . . honos 'honour is earned'. These words are echoed at line 153, where Ulysses says *uirtutis honor quaeratur in istis*.

96 coniunctaque gloria nostra est: sc. *gloriae armorum*; i.e. the arms and their owner will each benefit from the (reflected) glory of the other.

97 The rhetorical device (here reinforced by alliteration) which produces an antithesis through inversion in the second clause of ideas in the first ('one should live to eat, not eat to live'), called in Greek *antimetabolē*, in Latin *commutatio*, is used frequently by Ovid: 133–4 *quis magno melius succedit Achilli | quam per quem magnus Danais successit Achilles?*, 304–5 *deprensus Vlixis | ingenio tamen ille, at non Aiacis Vlixes*, 332 *utque tui mihi, sic fiat tibi copia nostri*, 755 *hunc ego, me Cyclops nulla cum fine petebat*. It is discussed by Quintilian (9.3.85) and elsewhere (*TLL* III 1987.20–6; add Sen. *Con.* 1.3.2, 4.4, 9.5.16, 10.5.11), and by Wills (1996) 276. The fact that the figure is used by Ajax as well as by Ulysses is further confirmation that his speech is not rhetorically deficient; see pp. 17–20.

98–122 'The "deeds" of Ulysses, which are nothing in comparison with mine, were carried out with the help of Diomedes; and the arms of Achilles would be a hindrance rather than a help to a man who operates in Ulysses' shady fashion: they would betray his presence, weigh him down, give the enemy a reason to attack him, and prevent him from his usual defensive tactic of precipitate retreat. Moreover his shield, unlike mine, has scarcely been used, and needs no replacement. The best way to settle the matter is to put the arms in the midst of the enemy and see which of us is able to retrieve them.'

Ajax closes his speech with a series of sarcastic and paradoxical points which hardly suggest that he is an unpractised speaker.

98–102 Ajax tries to pre-empt Ulysses' claim to great deeds by belittling them in advance.

98 Ithacus: Ulysses was king of Ithaca, an island near Same off the west coast of Greece (cf. 711). The word *Ithacus* is used as a noun instead of *Vlixes* (and in an unfavourable context) by Virgil at *Aen.* 2.104, 122, 128.

Rhesum imbellemque Dolona: in Book 10 of the *Iliad* Odys-

seus and Diomedes set out at night for the Trojan camp to gather information about the enemy. On their way they capture Dolon, a spy sent out for a similar purpose by Hector, who has promised him the horses of Achilles in the event of a Trojan victory. Odysseus, cleverly playing on Dolon's fears for his life, elicits from him useful information, and in particular the fact that Rhesus, king of the Thracians, is a newly arrived Trojan ally. Once he has served his purpose, Dolon is killed by Diomedes, although he pleads for his life and promises a good ransom. Odysseus and Diomedes proceed to the Trojan camp, slaughter Rhesus and many of his followers, and make off triumphantly with the king's magnificent horses (*Il.* 10.218–579). A different gloss is put on this exploit by Ulysses himself at 238–54(nn.).

imbellemque: Dolon tried to run away, and put up no resistance to capture; his teeth chattered, and he was pale with fear (*Il.* 10.375–6). Cf. 98 *imbellibus ... lacertis* (of Ulysses).

99 This story was told in the *Little Iliad*, where however it took place *after* the death of Ajax (54n.). The Trojan prophet Helenus, a son of Priam king of Troy, was said by the Greek seer Calchas to know the secret of how Troy could be captured (cf. 320). Accordingly Ulysses ambushed Helenus, who was forced to reveal his knowledge. One precondition for the capture of the city was that the Trojans should be deprived of the Palladium, an ancient wooden image of the goddess Pallas Athena, which was said to have fallen from heaven and to be a talisman which guaranteed the safety of Troy. Ulysses, disguised as a beggar, entered the city on a mission of reconnaissance; he was recognised by Helen, who helped him to locate the statue. Subsequently, he and Diomedes returned to carry it off to the Greek camp. See Apollod. *Epit.* 5.9–13 with the notes of Frazer (1921). At *Od.* 4.242–64 Helen reminisces about Ulysses' reconnaissance, though she does not report its motive. Sophocles probably treated the taking of the Palladium in his *Lacaenae* (*TGF* F 367–9a Radt).

Priamidenque Helenum: a Homeric half-line (*Il.* 6.76 Πριαμίδης Ἕλενος) already used by Virgil at *Aen.* 3.295. Cf. 723, 15.438.

The *i* of Πρίαμος/*Priamus* is by nature short; but often in Homer so-called 'metrical lengthening' is employed in words like *Prīamidēs*

which, because of a succession of three short syllables, would not otherwise fit into the hexameter.

Helenum . . . rapta . . . captum: the name Helenus appears to be from the Greek root *hel-*, meaning 'take', 'capture': there may be word-play here.

100 See 105–6n.

luce nihil gestum: cf. 15.

nihĭl . . . nihīl: so-called 'prosodic variation': the same word is scanned differently within a short space. Following a famous Homeric precedent (*Il.* 5.31, 455 Ἄρες, Ἄρες) the figure was much affected by Hellenistic Greek poets, and was adopted by Latin writers: cf. Hopkinson (1982) 162–77, Wills (1996) 461–9. Ovid has the same repetition of *nihil* at *Ex P.* 3.1.113 *morte nihil opus est, nihil Icariotide tela*, where the second syllable of the first *nihil* is made heavy not, as here, by two consonants, but through a licence rarely used by Ovid: a syllable containing a short vowel followed by a single consonant may be made heavy if it stands in the first (i.e. stressed) half of the foot. (Bentley, however, normalised: *morte nihil tibi opus*.)

101–2 si semel ista datis . . . | diuidite 'if ever you [are prepared to] grant . . . [you would do better to] divide them', i.e. 'once you are prepared to grant . . .'

102 pars . . . in illis 'share in them'. *illorum* would be the usual construction.

103 quo 'to what purpose?': cf. 516. *quo* is often used followed by a dative pronoun and an accusative noun with ellipse of the verb (*OLD* s.v. *quo*[1] 2): here e.g. *dabitis* might be understood from *datis* in line 101.

semper inermis: not true, of course. The allusion is presumably to Ulysses' beggar-disguise (99n.). *inermis* is derived from *in* + *arm-* (with regular weakening of the vowel no longer in initial position); here it points the futility of giving the arms to one who will not use them.

104 furtis: e.g. stealing the horses of Rhesus and the Palladium (98–9nn.). Cf. 32, 111.

105–6 ipse nitor galeae . . . | insidias prodet: the gleam from Achilles' helmet would serve only to betray Ulysses' shady operations. At *Il.* 19.380–3 the crest of Achilles' new helmet, made by

Hephaestus, is described as gleaming like a star; but a further inspiration for this detail is Virgil's story of Nisus and Euryalus in Book 9 of the *Aeneid*, an episode itself modelled on the Homeric Doloneia (98n.) but narrated so as to emphasise the courage, loyalty and patriotism of the young men, who set out on their mission with high hopes (like Odysseus and Diomedes) but are killed (like Dolon) by the enemy. After Nisus has slaughtered many of the sleeping Rutulians, Euryalus despoils the body of their leader Messapus and puts on his helmet, which is described as *cristis . . . decoram* (9.365). Later, as they are trying to evade the enemy in a dark wood, it is the helmet, the very symbol of their earlier success, which betrays them: *et galea Euryali sublustri noctis in umbra | prodidit immemorem radiisque aduersa refulsit* (373–4). At the end of the episode the Rutulians recognise the helmet, *galeam . . . nitentem | Messapi* (457–8).

These lines may in addition allude to an aspect of the story of Odysseus' and Diomedes' stealing of the Palladium as told in the *Little Iliad* (99n.): as the two heroes returned from Troy with the statue, Odysseus plotted to kill Diomedes and claim the Palladium (or perhaps the credit for gaining it) for himself. He raised his sword to stab Diomedes in the back. Diomedes was alerted to the danger by glimpsing the gleam of the sword in the moonlight. He disarmed Odysseus, tied his hands, and drove him along in front, beating his back with the flat of his sword. From this action was said to have arisen the Greek proverbial expression 'Diomedes' necessity' (Διομήδειος ἀνάγκη), applied to those who act under compulsion. See Zenobius 3.8 (1.59–60 L–S) and Frazer (1921) on Apollod. *Epit.* 5.13. For possible artistic representations see *LIMC* III (1986) 1.401–6, 408–9, 2.286–93.

105 ab auro 'with gold', instrumental ablative. Ovid often adds *ab* to such ablatives without alteration to the sense. The detail elaborates Virgil's *decoram* (105–6n.). At *Il.* 18.612 Achilles' helmet, made by the divine craftsman Hephaestus (Vulcan), is described as having a 'golden crest' (χρύσεον λόφον); at 19.381–3 'the horsehair plume shone like a star, and the golden hairs shook which Hephaestus had placed thickly on the crest'.

106 insidias: e.g. his lying in wait for Dolon and for Helenus (98–9).

107–11 neque . . . nec . . . nec: clauses of $1\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 lines pro-

vide a 'rising tricolon' which culminates with the shield, Achilles' most famous and impressive piece of equipment.

107 Dulichius ... uertex: poetical for 'Ulysses' head'. Dulichium is a small island near Ithaca, and in poetry *Dulichius* is used as a synonym for *Ithacensis*: cf. 425 *Dulichiae ... manus*, 711 *Dulichios portus*, 14.226 *Dulichium ... ducem*, and for the recherché adjective 13, 29, 44, 92nn.

108–9 These lines allude to *Il.* 16.140–4. Achilles, still wrathful, has allowed Patroclus to enter the battle and help defend the Greek ships (see 8n.). Patroclus wears Achilles' armour to deceive the Trojans into thinking that Achilles himself has come back. 'But he did not take the spear of noble Achilles, heavy, long and strong (βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρόν = *onerosa grauisque*): no other of the Greeks was able to wield it, only Achilles knew how to wield it, that ash-spear from Mt Pelion (Πηλιάδα μελίην = *Pelias hasta*) which Chiron had given to his dear father from the top of Mt Pelion.'

nec non onerosa grauisque | ... potest ... esse = *nec potest esse non onerosa grauisque* (H–E–A).

109 Pelias: a Greek feminine adjective (Πηλιάς). Mt Pelion is in Thessaly, home of the Centaur Chiron who was said to have given the spear to Peleus, father of Achilles, on the occasion of his marriage to Thetis.

In the Homeric passage there is etymological word-play, which cannot be rendered in English, between *Pēlias*, *pēlai* (past infinitive of the verb *pallein*, 'brandish'), *Pēlion* (Pelion), and perhaps *Pēleus*, which is probably not related to the name of the mountain but to an Aeolic word *pēle* meaning 'far away'. It is possible that Ovid may have expected learned readers to appreciate this.

110 clipeus ... caelatus imagine mundi: the shield of Achilles is described in more detail at lines 291–4 (see nn.), where Ulysses claims that Ajax would be unable to understand what is represented there. In the *Iliad* the making of the shield by Hephaestus is an extraordinary descriptive *tour de force* which takes up 130 lines (18.478–608).

caelatus, a common technical term for the engraving process, yields a double word-play: (1) *clipeus* in its alternative spelling *clupeus* was derived by some ancient authorities from the Greek verb *glyphō*, 'engrave': Plin. *Nat.* 35.13 *scutis enim, qualibus apud Troiam pugnatum est,*

continebantur imagines, unde et nomen habuere clupeorum (Maltby (1991) 136). (2) *caelatus ... mundi* may play on the ancient derivation of *caelum*, 'sky', from the verb *caelare*, the firmament being 'engraved' with stars (Maltby (1991) 92, Hardie (1985) 17 nn. 41–3): *mundus* often means 'the sky' (although here it means, more generally, 'the universe'). At line 291 Ulysses again refers to the *clipei caelamina.*

Some MSS read *concretus*, 'set hard', which is printed by H–E–A ('abgebildet') and defended by Hardie (1985) 16–17 with the following arguments: (1) the notion of creation well complements *natae* of Ulysses in the next line; (2) *imagine* is ablative of result: 'a shield that has taken on the form of an image of the universe'; (3) *concrescere* is often used of the coming together of natural bodies (e.g. Virg. *Ecl.* 6.33–4); (4) it introduces a notion of cosmogony to complement the cosmological implications of *imagine mundi*; both aspects are present in the allegorical interpretations of Homer's shield. But the shield was never in flux, and it is difficult to see an acceptable meaning for *concretus* here; moreover, *caelatus* is picked up at 291 *neque enim clipei caelamina nouit.*

imagine mundi: ancient allegorists of the shield of Achilles refer to it as a 'representation of the world' (κόσμου μίμημα): see 292–4n., Hardie (1985) 15–16.

111 nataeque ad furta sinistrae: the climactic word of the sentence has sinister overtones here: the left hand, used for carrying the shield in battle, was associated also with wrongdoing (e.g. Plautus, *Persa* 226 *furtifica laeua*, Cat. 12.1–3).

112 A striking line, having its first half occupied by a single word (cf. 654n.). Participle and noun frame the line, and *te,* the object of *debilitaturum*, is in an unusual position.

113 quod tibi si: *quod* refers to *munus* (112), and is not to be taken with *si* as *quodsi. tibi* is emphasised by its position outside the *si*-clause of which it is a part.

114 The idea of alluring accoutrements is familiar from battle narratives in which a wealthy and effeminate enemy is easily overcome by good soldiers: cf. Livy 9.17.16 *inter purpuram atque aurum ... praedam uerius quam hostem ... deuicit* (sc. *Alexander Darium*), Curtius 3.10.10 *aciem hostium auro purpuraque fulgentem intueri iubebat, praedam non arma gestantem*, Peterson (1891) on Quint. 10.1.30.

cur ... erit 'it [sc. the *munus*] will be a reason for [you to be] ...';

or perhaps 'there will be a reason why you should . . .' (*OLD* s.v. *sum*[1] A6d).

ab hoste is to be taken with both *spolieris* and *metuaris*.

115 timidissime: cf. 78 *solitum . . . timorem*. The scorn conveyed by this word is continued into line 116 by the repeated t-sounds.

uincis: cf. 63 *licet eloquio . . . uincat*.

116 gestamina: a high poetic word used of a *clipeus* at Virg. *Aen.* 3.286 (*clipeum, magni gestamen Abantis*) and again by Ovid at 15.163 (*clipeum, laeuae gestamina nostrae*). The tone is similar in the deprecatory speech at 1.456–62, where Apollo tells Cupid that bow and arrows do not suit him: *'quid'que 'tibi, lasciue puer, cum fortibus armis?' | dixerat, 'ista decent umeros gestamina nostros, | qui dare certa ferae, dare uulnera possumus hosti'* (456–8).

trahenti conjures up the ludicrous picture of Ulysses, desperate not to lose the precious shield, dragging it behind him as he runs away rather than holding it in front of him in combat.

117 adde quod 'moreover', a phrase often used in pointedly rhetorical speeches to introduce a new fact. Cf. 854.

raro: 'in general Ovid is readier than the other poets to use adverbs in *-e*, *-o*, and *-(i)ter* which seem to have been regarded as prosaic' (Kenney (1996) on *Her.* 16.174).

proelia passus: passionate alliteration, as in the previous line-end (*tanta trahenti*). Some manuscripts, however, have *uulnera*, which gains support from *plagis* (119) in the contrasting sentence.

118–19 ferendo | . . . habendus: the quasi-rhyme at line-end emphasises the climactic final point. *agendo* in line 120 continues the effect. Cf. 377–8.

119 mille . . . plagis: during the battle at the Greek ships (82–97n. §4) the Trojans had forced Ajax back 'constantly striking at his shield with their spears' (*Il.* 11.565; cf. 572).

patet: as one speaks of a 'gaping' wound.

successor: cf. 51.

120–2 Ajax, reverting to his initial contrast between words and deeds, draws his speech to a close with a plea, destined perhaps to appeal more to the rank and file than to the *proceres* (cf. 123–4), that deeds should be allowed to decide the matter. His conclusion, that the arms of Achilles should be cast into the midst of the enemy so that he and Ulysses may compete for their recovery, is an idea bor-

rowed from one of Ovid's teachers of rhetoric, M. Porcius Latro, who himself composed an *Armorum iudicium*: Sen. *Contr.* 2.2.8 *adeo autem studiose Latronem audiuit ut multas eius sententias in uersus suos transtulerit. in armorum iudicio dixerat Latro 'mittamus arma in hostes et petamus.' Naso dixit 'arma . . . peti.'* The tactic is one that is well known from the annals of early Rome: Servius Tullius, T. Quinctius Capitolinus and T. Quinctius Cincinnatus are all said to have thrown *signa* into enemy ranks in order to encourage a charge; Livy calls the action *rem in asperis proeliis saepe temptatam* (34.46.12). Frontinus devotes a section of his *Stratagems* to this and similar tactics (2.8.1–5; cf. Livy 4.29.3). For other examples see Oakley (1997) on Livy 6.8.1–4.

120 Some editors punctuate the words *quid uerbis opus est?* as a parenthesis, referring *denique* to *agendo*; but *denique* is much more effective applied to *uerbis,* conveying the sense that this reluctant orator is glad to stop speaking at last.

spectemur 'let us be judged': *OLD* s.v. *specto* 6b–c.

121 arma uiri: the collocation of these two words, made famous by Virgil as the opening of the *Aeneid* and used by him in ten other places in that poem, probably goes back to Ennius.

uiri fortis: a common term of praise: cf. 383. Achilles was the bravest Greek warrior, and it is fitting that bravery should be the criterion for choosing the heir to his arms.

122 referentem ornate relatis 'decorate him who has recovered them with what he has recovered' – 'and with them, rescued, deck the rescuer' (Melville (1986)). These words, with their emphasis on action, their pointed play on the verb *refero*, and the assonances *re-*, *re-* and *ornate relatis*, form an impressive and epigrammatic conclusion to Ajax' speech. Cf. 59, 602nn.

123–7 Another long period, carried forward by enjambment (cf. 35–9n.), forms a brief epilogue to the speech of Ajax and introduces that of Ulysses. Lines 124–5 have final assonance, and lines 125–6 both begin with dactylic verbs in the first foot (*adstitit at-*, *sustulit ad*).

123 Finierat: the pluperfect, commonest with the verb *dixerat* (cf. 474), is sometimes used, where a perfect might have been expected, to conclude a section of narrative, and to mark transition to a new subject.

Telamone satus: 22n. *satus*, 'offspring', is perfect participle of *sero*, 'sow'. It is an archaic word which is part of the lexical range of the high epic style.

123–4 uulgique secutum | ultima murmur erat: epic poets often record comments by unnamed bystanders. In Book 2 of the *Iliad*, for example, Odysseus puts down Thersites, an unpopular member of the Greek army, 'and men looked at the person next to them and said, "Ah! Odysseus has done many good deeds ..., but this is by far the best."' See 88n. on the bystanders' hope that Ajax' lot will come first from the helmet (*Il.* 7.178–80), and *Il.* 6.456–63 quoted in 512n.

124 ultima: used as a substantive, 'his conclusion' (*OLD* s.v. 4e).

Laërtius heros: in Homer Laertes himself is given the title *heros*, but Ulysses when named by reference to his father is called Λαερτιάδης (*Laertiades*, 48n.), not 'the Laertian hero'. Whether or not he is in fact a true hero is the very point under discussion, and one on which the *uulgus* (123) and the *proceres* (126), who are watching, will have conflicting views.

125 astitit 'took up his place' – probably from *adsisto* rather than *adsto*.

125–7 atque ... dictis: the description of Ulysses' preparation to speak is inspired by a passage in Book 3 of the *Iliad*, where the Trojan Antenor recalls how, before hostilities had begun, Menelaus and Odysseus had come to Troy to demand the return of Helen. Menelaus had spoken briefly and to the point. 'But when wily Odysseus arose, he stood there with his gaze fixed on the ground ... like a man unaccustomed to speaking: you would have said that he was angry or stupid. But when he uttered great speech from his chest and words like winter snowflakes, then no other mortal could compete with him' (216–23). Quintilian, advising orators how to comport themselves in the courts, refers to this passage of Homer when he recommends that before speaking a person should gather his thoughts for a short time: *non protinus est erumpendum, sed danda breuis cogitationi mora: mire enim auditurum dicturi cura delectat et iudex se ipse componit* (11.3.157). He adds that during this short silence one should avoid behaviour such as staring at the ceiling or attempting to contort one's face with an affectation of severity: *tendere confidentia uultum*

aut quo magis sit toruus superciliis adstringere (11.3.160). It seems that Ajax' deportment (3–4 *toruo ... uultu*) was unlikely to impress discerning judges.

126 exspectatoque 'eagerly awaited'.

126–7 resoluit | ora 'opened his lips', a grandiose phrase used already by Virgil (*Geo.* 4.452, in a context of solemn prophecy).

127 facundis: cf. 92, 137, 382.

128–30 For his opening theme Ulysses alludes to that passage in Ajax' speech where he related with pride how the Greeks had prayed that the duel with Hector should fall to his lot (88–9 *sortemque meam uouistis, Achiui, | et uestrae ualuere preces*: cf. 128 *si mea cum uestris ualuissent uota, Pelasgi*). Where Ajax was self-confident, Ulysses maintains that *his* dearest wish would be for Achilles still to be alive and able to bear his own arms; he tacitly suggests that that would have been the dearest wish also of the Greeks. Ajax' indignation had left him no time to pay formal tribute to Achilles.

128 uestris ualuissent uota: the considered effect of Ulysses' opening is reinforced by alliteration.

129 'There would be no doubt as to who would inherit [the arms] in so great a dispute' – Achilles would claim what was rightfully his own. For this sense of *certamen* see *OLD* s.v. 5.

130 'You would possess your own arms, Achilles, and we would [still?] possess you.' *potior*, cognate with *potestas*, etc., usually has overtones of control or power over its object. That meaning is suitable for *armis*, but less so for the attitude of the Greeks towards Achilles. For the weaker meaning of the verb, 'have', 'possess', cf. *OLD* s.v. 5b.

131–2 quem ... non aequa ... negarunt | fata: phraseology of a type often found in epitaphs.

132–3 ueluti lacrimantia tersit | lumina: crocodile tears are usually called in Latin *lacrimae coactae*: at Virg. *Aen.* 2.196, for example, the Trojans, in a situation not dissimilar from the present one, are said to be *capti ... dolis lacrimisque coactis*: see McKeown (1989) on *Am.* 1.8.83–4. Here, however, *ueluti* suggests that Ulysses is not really crying at all.

Frequently in the *Odyssey* (but never in the *Iliad*) Odysseus laments and weeps with genuine grief or fear; Dryden in the Dedication to his translation of the *Aeneid* calls him 'a kind of St Swithen-Heroe,

always raining', and the Byzantine commentator Eustathius quotes in his defence the proverb 'to good men tears come easily' (ἀγαθοὶ δ' ἀριδάκρυες ἄνδρες): see Stanford (1963) 265–6. In particular, and most memorably, he 'wipes away tears' (δάκρυ' ὀμορξάμενος) when in Phaeacia he hears the bard Demodocus sing of events at Troy (*Od.* 8.83–95). Here, in his role as master of dissimulation, Ulysses aims to elicit similar symptoms from his hearers: cf. *Od.* 19.203–12, where his 'many true-seeming lies' (203) make Penelope dissolve in floods of tears while he himself, still in disguise, 'keeps his eyes immovable, firm as horn or iron' (211–12). Quintilian advises that it is good for an orator to display the passions which he wishes to elicit (6.2.27–8).

133–4 succedit ... successit: a play on two meanings of *succedere* (*OLD* s.v. 5a, 4b; for the first meaning cf. 51–2 *quo successore sagittae* | *Herculis utuntur*): 'who better to succeed great Achilles than the man who made great Achilles join the Greek forces?' Ulysses alludes to the story which he will tell in detail at lines 162–70.

succedit: this is the reading of the majority of manuscripts, but some have the future *succedet* and others the subjunctive *succedat*. All give good sense.

135–9 Ulysses asks that the judges should not award the arms to Ajax out of pity for his dullness of intellect, and that his own *ingenium* and *facundia*, so often at the service of the Greeks, should not bring resentment upon him. *haec* (137) subtly emphasises that in making this plea he cleverly exploits those very qualities in order to depreciate his opponent.

135 huic: Ajax. Cf. 11n. (*isti*).

hebes 'dull-witted' (*OLD* s.v. 5a). Similarly *obtusus* and *acutus* are used metaphorically.

136–7 neue ... ingenium 'and do not let my talents, which have always been of use to you, be of disadvantage to me now'.

137 si qua est: a mock-modest aside.

138 domino 'owner.' See 2, 402n.

139 bona nec sua quisque recuset 'and let no one deny his own good points' – i.e. I can hardly be expected not to use my rhetorical powers to persuade you, just as Ajax can hardly be expected not to emphasise his physical advantages. Although *quisque* is occasionally used in verse for *uterque* (K–S I 648), it is more effective to

take the words here as a generalisation rather than as referring only to Ulysses and Ajax.

nec . . . recuset is in series with *modo ne prosit* (135) and *neue* . . . *noceat* (136); Ovid occasionally uses *nec* for *neu/neue* with jussive subjunctives.

140–58 Ulysses addresses Ajax' claim to be *nobilitate potens* (21–33). The two passages are constructed along similar lines: each speaker introduces genealogical argument as beside the main point (21 *si uirtus in me dubitabilis esset* ~ 153 *uirtutis honor spoliis quaeratur in istis*), and each casts aspersions on the family history of his rival (26, 31–3 ~ 145, 149). This line of attack is typical of Roman nobles, who were much given to trading on the *uirtus* of their ancestors and disparaging the ancestors of their rivals. Moralising literature which makes inherited titles less important than innate abilities (*stemmata quid faciunt?*) is discussed by Braund (1988) 69–129. Ulysses, speaking second, has the advantage of being able to put forward his own claims while asserting that the subject is an irrelevance wrongly introduced by Ajax.

140 Nam introduces Ulysses' explanation of why *genus* and *proaui* are not to be counted as *bona sua* (139).

141 sed enim: *enim* was originally a word used to emphasise what preceded it, and it does not always have an explanatory sense. Quintilian (9.3.14) saw the phrase *sed enim* as a notable archaism in the *Aeneid*. Virgil's example was followed by later hexameter writers, and the expression is used by authors of the imperial period who affect an archaising style.

141–2 rettulit . . . | esse . . . pronepos: one would expect *se esse pronepotem*, accusative and infinitive. In Greek the nominative is used in indirect speech when the subject of both clauses is the same, and it was probably Greek influence which led to occasional use of the nominative and infinitive in Latin. The earliest attested example is Cat. 4.1–2 *phaselus ille. . . | ait fuisse nauium celerrimus*, in a poem containing other Graecising preciosities. Ovid has several examples: cf. *Am.* 2.4.14 *spemque dat in molli mobilis esse toro*, 19.14 *speciem praebuit esse nocens*. See K–S I 702.

sanguinis auctor: a high epic phrase, first attested at Virg. *Aen.* 7.48–9 *Picus . . . parentem | te, Saturne, refert* [cf. *rettulit*], *tu sanguinis ultimus auctor.*

143 totidemque gradus distamus ab illo: cf. 28 *ab Ioue tertius Aiax*.

144–5 Arcesius is said to be Odysseus' grandfather at *Od.* 16.118. Some ancient sources made him the son of Zeus and Euryodia (schol. and Eustathius *ad loc.*).

damnatus et exul: i.e. condemned to exile; a standard phrase, in prose at least. Ovid relates at 11.266–70 that Peleus (brother of Telamon) murdered his half-brother Phocus; cf. 149n. He was exiled by his father Aeacus. Accounts differed over the question of who was chiefly responsible for the murder: see Frazer (1921) on Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.6. In Book 11 Ovid is concerned with the story of Peleus, and Telamon is not mentioned; but here Ulysses is concerned to blacken the family of Ajax, and implies that Telamon alone was responsible.

146–7 Having dismissed Ajax' father as *damnatus et exul* (145), Ulysses has the effrontery to mention that he himself has a divine ancestor, Mercury (Hermes), on his mother's side. He does not mention the name of his grandfather Autolycus, who was notorious for the lying and trickery to which Mercury, patron of thieves, inspired him: 11.313–15 *nascitur Autolycus furtum ingeniosus ad omne* | ... *patriae non degener artis*. See 31–2, 144–5nn.

146 Cyllenius: Hermes, who was born on Mt Cyllene in Arcadia (*Homeric hymn to Hermes* 142, 228, *al.*, *Od.* 24.1, Virg. *Aen.* 8.138–9).

147 nobilitas matches Ajax' phrase *nobilitate potens* (22).

148 materno ... generosior ortu 'more noble on account of my mother's ancestry'. Ajax had made no claim to nobility on his mother's side.

149 fraterni sanguinis insons echoes the description of Peleus at 11.268 *fraterno sanguine sontem*: cf. 144–5n.

150 proposita: i.e. set out to be competed for.

meritis expendite causam 'weigh, i.e. judge, the case by our meritorious actions'.

151 dummodo '– provided only that ...' After appearing to have concluded the topic of *nobilitas*, Ulysses recurs to it, giving the impression that another thought has come to him. In what follows he attempts to rebut the argument of Ajax at line 31 (*frater erat, fraterna peto*).

152 sanguinis ordo: Ajax' consanguinity with Achilles, whose father Peleus was Ajax' uncle.

153 For the phraseology cf. Ajax' words at lines 95–6 *quaeritur istis* | *quam mihi maior honos.*

uirtutis honor 'the reward of valour'.

in 'with regard to', 'as concerns'.

154 proximitas 'closeness of kinship', i.e. 'next of kin'. The more usual word is *propinquitas*, which will not fit into hexameters.

primusque ... heres: a legal term for the principal beneficiary (*OLD* s.v. *heres* 1c), the person with first refusal of the inheritance. In a case of intestacy the father would be *primus heres*; if the father were dead, it would be the brother.

requiritur, echoing *quaeratur* in line 153, suggests in this context an official or judicial inquiry: *OLD* s.v. *quaero* 10a.

155 Pyrrhus, also known as Neoptolemus (455), was the son of Achilles and Deidamia, daughter of the king of Scyros with whom Achilles stayed while disguised as a girl (162–80n.). He is mentioned only once, under the name Neoptolemus, in the *Iliad* (19.326–33), but both his begetting and his subsequent exploits were described at length in poems of the Epic Cycle. Cf. 455n.

illi refers to Achilles, and is governed by both *est genitor* and *est ... filius*.

156 Pthiam: the homeland of Achilles, in southern Thessaly. In the *Iliad* Peleus is spoken of as a defenceless old man eagerly awaiting the return of his son (18.432–5, 19.333–7, 24.486–92, 540–2).

Scyrumque: 155n.: Pyrrhus is still at home with his mother on the island of Scyros, east of Euboea. The *Little Iliad* (1–5n.) told how, shortly after the Judgement of Arms, Odysseus went to Scyros to fetch Neoptolemus and handed over to him the arms of his father, with which he proceeded to perform prodigies of slaughter on behalf of the Greeks. Odysseus gives a summary of Neoptolemus' career at Troy when he meets Achilles in the Underworld at *Od.* 11.505–37, though the arms are not mentioned there.

157 Teucer: half-brother of Ajax, being son of Telamon and Hesione. In the *Iliad* he is a bowman, and is often mentioned in conjunction with Ajax (e.g. 8.266–7). The Greek form of his name is *Teukros*, but Latin often changes Greek *-ros* endings to *-er* (*Alexander*, *Meleager*, etc.).

patruelis: 31n.

158 petit ... petat: *peto* is the legal term for pursuing a claim at law: *OLD* s.v. 11a.

159 nudum: it is 'purely and simply' a contest over their respective *opera*, stripped of extraneous issues. For this use of *nudus* see *OLD* s.v. 13a, and cf. such English expressions as 'the bare facts', 'naked ambition'.

161 in promptu mihi 'easy for me [sc. to know how to organise]': the benefits which Ulysses has brought to the Greek cause are, he claims, too many even for his eloquence. There is an implicit rebuttal of Ajax' words *nec mihi dicere promptum | nec facere est isti* (10–11).

rerum ... ordine ducar: Ulysses will follow chronological order in his narrative. In handbooks of rhetoric the phrase *rerum ordo* is used as a technical term for the orator's arrangement of his points and subject-matter. Quintilian recommends that as a general rule a statement of facts should follow the *rerum ordo* (4.2.83, 87; for the phrase cf. Cic. *Brutus* 276).

tamen: although his services are so many as to be difficult to enumerate, he will *however* make an attempt.

162–80 Ulysses argues that, since it was he who brought Achilles to the expedition, he should have the credit for whatever deeds Achilles performed. In lines 162–70 he briefly relates the story, several variants of which are known, of Achilles' disguise as a girl on the island of Scyros (156n.). Calchas had prophesied that Troy could not be taken without Achilles; but Thetis, his divine mother, knew that if he went to Troy he would die there. She took him instead to Scyros and disguised him as a girl. During this time he fathered Pyrrhus on the king's daughter Deidamia (155n.). A deputation of Greeks arrived to persuade him to join the expedition. It was Ulysses who devised a plan to make Achilles throw off his disguise: he put before the group a selection of attractive fancy goods, and amongst them placed a shield and spear; the girls made for the trinkets, but Achilles could not resist taking up the weapons. Variants on the story are listed by Frazer (1921) on Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.8. It was the subject of the *Scyrii* of Euripides, now lost. The most detailed extant treatment is in Book 1 of Statius' *Achilleid*; cf. Ov. *Ars* 1.689–96.

The narrative of Achilles' disguise as a girl complements that of Ulysses' feigned madness, to which Ajax made slighting reference at lines 34–40; there are similarities, too, between the detective method employed by Palamedes and Ulysses' plan on Scyros. Ulysses himself will draw a parallel between the two episodes, and will excuse his own behaviour by that of Achilles, at lines 296–305.

The name assumed by Achilles on Scyros seems to have been a notorious point of disputation. Suetonius records that Tiberius was fond of putting the question to grammarians (*Tib.* 70; cf. 620n.); cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Urne-Burial* Ch. 5 'What song the *Syrens* sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women, though puzling Questions, are not beyond all conjecture.'

162 Praescia uenturi . . . leti: the adjective *praescius* is first used by Virgil, who at *Aen.* 6.66, in a phrase adapted here by Ovid, has Aeneas address the Sibyl as *praescia uenturi*, 'having knowledge of the future'.

genetrix Nereïa: *genetrix* is rarely found in prose, and *genetrix Nereïa* is a high epic periphrasis for Thetis, mother of Achilles and daughter of the sea-god Nereus (Νηρεύς, adjective Νηρήιος, Lat. *Nereïus*). Cf. 2n.

163 dissimulat cultu natum: a temporary metamorphosis.

dissimulat: Ovid uses the same verb at *Ars* 1.690 (cf. 162–80n.): *Achilles | ueste uirum longa dissimulatus erat.*

cultu '[female] clothing': cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.8.13–16 *quid latet, ut marinae | filium dicunt Thetidis sub lacrimosa Troiae | funera, ne uirilis | cultus in caedem et Lycias proriperet cateruas?*

deceperat: the reader is deceived into assuming that Thetis is the subject, but it is in fact *fallacia* (164).

164 in quibus Aiacem 'including Ajax'. It is not recorded elsewhere that Ajax took part in the mission to fetch Achilles from Scyros; probably Ovid makes Ulysses gain an extra point at the expense of Ajax' alleged stupidity.

166–7 neque adhuc proiecerat heros | uirgineos habitus: the implication seems to be that Ulysses was clever enough to recognise him while he was still pondering whether or not to throw off his disguise. Statius' account, influenced no doubt by Ovid, is similar (*Ach.* 1.866–8): *tunc acer Vlixes | admotus lateri summissa uoce 'quid haeres?* [cf. 169 *quid dubitas . . . ?*] | *scimus' ait: 'tu semiferi Chironis alumnus, | tu caeli pelagique nepos* [cf. 168 *nate dea*].'

168 nate dea: a respectful term of address used of the hero of the *Aeneid* (1.582, *al.*). Here the words have particular point: Ulysses indicates immediately that he has seen through the disguise imposed by Achilles' mother (cf. 162–3 *genetrix . . . natum*).

168–9 tibi se . . . reseruant | Pergama: by making Troy the

subject of the verb Ulysses implies that the place is eager to encompass its fate at the hands of Achilles: his mere presence will guarantee success. The effect is perhaps reinforced by the sound-play *peritura* ... *Pergama*: it is intrinsic to its name that the Greeks should des*troy* Troy.

169 Pergama: the acropolis or citadel of the city of Troy. Homer has only the feminine singular *Pergamos*, but later writers in both Greek and Latin use the metrically convenient neuter plural.

ingentem: cf. 505 *iacet Ilion ingens*, with note. The word is characteristic of epic; it makes the prize more alluring by emphasising its size and importance. There may be an echo here of Virg. *Aen.* 3.462, where Helenus, in a speech addressing Aeneas as *nate dea* (374), concludes *uade age et ingentem factis fer ad aethera Troiam* ('Troy made great by your deeds').

euertere: *uertere* and *euertere* are Virgilian words for the destruction of Troy (*Aen.* 2.571, 3.1, 5.810–11, 10.45).

170 iniecique manum: *manus iniectio* is a legal term denoting seizure of a person against whom one has a claim, prior to summoning him before a magistrate: Buckland (1963) 618–23, Kenney (1969) 256–9. This is Ulysses' witty interpretation of a gesture which must have seemed to Achilles to be one of friendship: cf. *Her.* 19.190 *inicias umeris bracchia lassa meis*.

171–8 At the beginning of sentences Ulysses lays repeated (and varied) emphasis on his crucial role: 171 *ego*, 173 *meum est* in chiasmus with *me*, 174 *me*, 175–6 *mea* ... *dextra* framing the sentence, 178 *per me*.

171 ergo opera illius mea sunt: cf. 159. In addition to claiming Achilles for the Greeks (169n.), Ulysses appropriates his deeds for himself. In doing so he is made to allude to Achilles' own account of his deeds at 12.108–14: *ego Telephon hasta* | *pugnantem domui* (171–2) echoes *opusque meae bis sensit Telephus hastae* (12.112), and the phrase *Lyrnesia moenia* (176) is found at 12.108–9; Thebe and Tenedos are common to both accounts. But Ulysses' list is, ironically, longer and more detailed than that of Achilles himself, and it includes the death of Hector: it is in Ulysses' interest here to make the deeds of Achilles seem as impressive as he can. In a similar manner he appropriates the deeds of Ajax at lines 236–7: *tempore ab hoc, quodcumque potest fecisse uideri* | *fortiter iste, meum est*: cf. 171 *mea sunt*, 173 *meum est*. At lines 349 and 374 he uses the same type of argument.

The catalogues of Achilles' deeds here and in Book 12 have their literary origin in *Il.* 9.328–31, where Achilles, in reply to Agamemnon's conciliatory offer of lavish gifts, says in part of his long speech of reply, 'by sea I sacked twelve cities of men, and on foot eleven cities in the area of fertile Troy; from all of them I took many fine possessions . . .'

Telephon: on their abortive first sailing to Troy the Greeks had landed at Mysia and ravaged the country. Telephus, king of the Mysians, was wounded by Achilles' spear, and was subsequently told by Apollo that he could be healed only by the one who had wounded him. Some years later he sought out Achilles in Argos, who cured him by sprinkling rust from the spear into his wound. In return Telephus guided the Greek fleet to Troy. The story was told in the epic *Cypria*; its most famous treatment was by Euripides in his *Telephus*, now lost. See Apollod. *Epit.* 3.17–20.

hasta goes with both *domui* and *refeci*: the spear both wounded and cured Telephus.

173 quod Thebae cecidere, meum est: Thebe or Thebae was a city in Mysia (171n.) sacked by the Greeks during the nine-year interval between their landing on Trojan soil and the beginning of the war proper (*Il.* 1.366–7; 207n.). It was from Thebe that they took away Chryseis (174n.), who had been visiting there. The king of the place was Eetion, and his daughter was Andromache, wife of Hector (*Il.* 6.394–8).

Lesbon: the Greeks' sacking of Lesbos, an island south of the Troad, is mentioned at *Il.* 9.128–30 = 270–2, and by Achilles himself at 9.664–5, in connexion with beautiful captive women.

174 Tenedon Chrysenque et Cillan, Apollinis urbes: these three place-names are linked as a reminiscence of *Il.* 1.37–9, where Chryses, father of Agamemnon's captive Chryseis and priest of Apollo, prays to his god, 'Hear me, god of the silver bow, you who protect Chryse and holy Cilla and hold sway over Tenedos, Apollo Smintheus . . .'

Tenedon: Tenedos, an island off the coast of Troy, is mentioned briefly at *Il.* 11.625 as having been sacked by Achilles. Apollodorus relates that the king Tenes, a son of Apollo, was killed by Achilles, even though he had been warned by Thetis that if he did so he would be killed in retribution by Apollo (*Epit.* 3.26). It was on

Tenedos, according to the *Cypria*, that Philoctetes was bitten by the water-snake (ibid. 3.27; see 45–54n.).

Chrysen: the plot of the *Iliad* takes as its immediate starting-point the anger of Apollo at Agamemnon's having taken captive Chryseis, daughter of his priest Chryses, when the Greeks sacked Chryse, a town located according to Strabo on the coast of the Troad below Thebe (13.1.63).

Scyrum: Homer mentions Achilles' sacking of Scyros (156n.) at *Il.* 9.668, and elsewhere has Achilles say that his son is still being brought up on the island (*Il.* 19.326). Ancient commentators sought to reconcile these references, and the story of Achilles' disguise as a girl on Scyros (not mentioned by Homer), in various ways. One suggestion (schol. T on *Il.* 9.668, vol. II p. 539 Erbse) was that the Scyros sacked by Achilles was not the island of that name, but a place on the Trojan mainland near Thebe, Chryse, Cilla, etc. Ovid, however, must refer to the island, which he has mentioned already in connexion with Achilles' son (156).

175–6 mea . . . dextra: emphatically first and last words in the sentence, unusually far apart; cf. 261–2 *nostra . . . manu*, 3–4n.

176 Lyrnesia moenia: see 171n. Achilles' sacking of Lyrnessus, a town near Thebe and Mt Ida, is mentioned at *Il.* 19.60 and 20.92, 191; it was from there that he acquired the captive Briseis (*Il.* 2.689–91), cause of strife at the beginning of the poem when she is demanded by Agamemnon as compensation for Chryseis (174n.), whom he has been obliged to return to her father in order to put a stop to Apollo's anger.

177 utque alios taceam 'not to mention the others', i.e. the other Trojan warriors killed by Achilles. *ut* is concessive (*OLD* s.v. 35): literally, 'although I may keep quiet about the others'.

177–8 qui saeuum perdere posset | Hectora, nempe dedi 'indeed, it was I who gave you the man who could destroy fierce Hector'; *qui* = *illum qui*. *nempe*, a word used frequently by Ovid, justifies a preceding assertion.

178 Hectora . . . Hector: emphatic repetition of a word at the beginning and end of a line is a common poetic device; cf. 861 *Acin amas praefersque meis amplexibus Acin?*

inclitus: a perhaps archaic-sounding adjective used particularly by epic writers to give an effect of stylistic grandeur (*sublimitas*). It is

related to the Greek word *klytós*, 'renowned' (Maltby (1991) 299), and the dead Hector is called *klytós* at the end of the *Iliad* (24.789).

179 illis haec armis, quibus: the causal ablative, 'on account of those weapons by means of which ...' (the ones which revealed the identity of Achilles on Scyros: 162–80n.). *illis* and *haec* at the beginning of the sentence emphatically draw attention to the main point of Ulysses' concluding argument in this introduction to his speech.

180 arma peto: Ajax had used these words in a different sense during his closing remarks: *arma uiri fortis medios mittantur in hostes: | inde iubete peti* (121–2).

reposco 'I claim as my right': from the preceding line we are to understand *illa* as object of *dederam* and *haec* as object of *reposco.*

181–204 Ulysses next claims credit for having made it possible for the Greeks to reach Troy by sea. It was narrated in the *Cypria* how, while the expedition was gathered for a second time at Aulis, Agamemnon boasted that, in shooting a deer, he had surpassed the huntress goddess Artemis (Diana) herself in skill. She in anger sent adverse winds to keep the fleet in harbour, and the seer Calchas revealed that she could be appeased only by the sacrifice of Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia. Odysseus and Diomedes (or the herald Talthybius) were sent to Mycenae to ask Clytemnestra, mother of Iphigenia, to send her daughter to Aulis; Odysseus persuaded her to do this by saying that the girl was to be married to Achilles. When she was about to be sacrificed, Artemis substituted for her a deer, and transported Iphigenia to the land of the Taurians. Homer has no reference whatever to these events. The story is told briefly by Ovid at 12.8–38; the best-known extant treatment of it is Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*. See also Apollod. *Epit.* 3.21–2, Davies (1989) 45–6, Aesch. *Agam.* 104–257, Lucr. 1.80–101.

His own account reveals Ulysses as an unscrupulous operator: he overcame the fond love of a father for his daughter (187–8), and deceived Clytemnestra by a trick (193–4). In line 196 the epithet *audax,* though intended by Ulysses as a compliment to his own daring, can be taken as characterising the general audacity of his behaviour; and the fact that he refers here to three occasions on which he prevailed on unwilling auditors by the powers of his persuasion or deception is particularly significant in a speech which itself presents with all the

devices of rhetoric and sophistry a series of contentious arguments. It is as if Ulysses is challenging the *proceres* to resist his persuasion: he draws attention to his ability to deceive while triumphantly carrying his case.

181 unius: Menelaus, husband of Helen. See 50n.

Danaos peruenit ad omnes 'came to affect all the Greeks' who had been suitors of Helen (50n.).

182 Aulidaque: *Aulida* is Greek accusative singular of *Aulis*.

Euboïcam: Aulis was in fact on the coast of the Boeotian mainland opposite the island of Euboea.

mille carinae: 93n.

184 Agamemnona: 457–73n.

sortes: the 'pronouncements' of the seer Calchas (181–204n.). *sors* is more often used of an oracular response.

185 mactare: cf. 448 *placet Achilleos mactata Polyxena manes.*

186 genitor: Agamemnon. The word belongs chiefly to the grand style of epic verse; cf. 162n. (*genetrix*).

diuisque irascitur ipsis: he was so distressed that he even spoke angrily against Artemis, or the gods in general, who demanded the sacrifice. For *ipse* in this sense cf. 759–60 *ipsis | horrendus siluis.* Agamemnon's anger is an ironic counterpart to the *ira deae* which is the cause of his troubles (181–204n.).

187 atque in rege tamen pater est: he is a king, but none the less has the feelings of a father. *in rege* means 'in the guise/character of a king': *OLD* s.v. *in* 36d. At 12.30 Ovid uses similar terms to describe Agamemnon's dilemma: *rexque patrem uicit.*

188 uerbis ... uerti: the similarity of the two words, placed prominently before the caesura and at the end of the line, seems to invite an etymological association – words are instruments of persuasion.

publica commoda, 'the public benefit', is, like *utilitas populi* (191) and *communis Graecia* (199), a phrase from forensic rhetoric.

189–90 Ulysses removes the odium from Agamemnon by saying that it was his eloquence which prevailed over a father's love. He asks forgiveness for preferring *publica commoda* (188) to a friend.

fateor 'I don't mind telling you'. For the repetition see 59n.

fassoque ignoscat Atrides: Ulysses diplomatically deprecates his need to raise a painful memory and to imply – natural though it

was – that Agamemnon was not disinterested (*iniquo*) and considered preferring his daughter's life to promoting the Greeks' welfare.

Atrides: Agamemnon, son of Atreus, a patronymic used by Homer.

190 The phrases *difficilis causa*, *causam tenere* ('win a case' – *OLD* s.v. *teneo* 16b), and *iudex iniquus* are all standard legal expressions.

191 fraterque: Menelaus, brother of Agamemnon and husband of Helen.

191–2 The three arguments used by Ulysses: the public good (i.e. the benefit for the expedition as against Agamemnon's own private good), the duty owed to his brother to gain revenge for Helen's abduction, and the responsibilities which he bears as commander – in short, his duty to the Greeks, to his family, and to himself.

datique | summa . . . sceptri 'the high authority granted him'; cf. *Her.* 7.12 *sceptro tradita summa tuo*. In the *Iliad* Agamemnon has an ancestral staff or sceptre as symbol of his command over the forces collected to aid his brother (2.46, 101–8, 9.99).

192 laudem ut cum sanguine penset 'to set off against the murder the approval which he would gain by it'.

193 mittor et ad matrem: 181–204n.

193–4 astu | decipienda: Ulysses was famed, particularly in the *Odyssey*, for his cunning and his crafty resourcefulness; one of the stock epithets used to describe him in Homer is *polymētis*, 'of many counsels', 'scheming', 'inventive'. See p. 11.

194 quo si Telamonius isset: cf. Ulysses' argument at line 321 *melius Telamonius ibit* . . . For *Telamonius* see 22n.

quo: adverbial, = *ad quam*; similarly *unde* can mean 'from whom' (*OLD* s.v. 8a).

195 orba . . . lintea: the adjective *orbus* is quite often applied to inanimate objects by Ovid; but here there may underlie its use the special point that, in order for the sails not to be *orba* of wind, Clytemnestra had to be made *orba* of her daughter.

suis . . . uentis: the winds which they required, i.e. the favourable winds due to them.

196–204 The embassy of Odysseus and Menelaus to Troy is mentioned at *Il.* 3.205–24 and 11.138–42, and was told at length in the *Cypria*; Sophocles wrote a play on the subject (Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις, *TGF* F 176–80a Radt). Homer does not specify when the embassy

took place, and other sources differ: some said that the ambassadors were sent from Aulis before the fleet set sail, others that they were despatched after the Greeks' initial arrival near Troy (so Ovid here, it seems: cf. 207), or after the first battle when they landed before the city. See Frazer (1921) on Apollod. *Epit.* 3.28. The passage from Book 3 of the *Iliad*, narrated by Antenor, who had acted as host to Odysseus and Menelaus on that occasion, contains the famous description of Odysseus' manner of speaking quoted in 125–7n.; the episode is therefore particularly suitable to be picked out by Ulysses in his speech here.

196 mittor et . . . ad arces: the construction is repeated from line 193, emphasising Ulysses' continual employment.

audax: on the effect of this word see 181–204n. Ulysses means to suggest that the occasion and the scene would have daunted a lesser man: at lines 202–4 he describes how he was nearly set upon by Paris and his cronies. Cf. 198 *interritus*.

orator 'ambassador', someone employed to speak on behalf of a community.

197 altae . . . Troiae: Troy is called 'lofty' (αἰπεινός) in the *Iliad* (9.419, *al.*), but *altus* is found typically in descriptions of great cities in epic; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.7 *altae moenia Romae.*

curia: an anachronism, of a type common in Ovid's mythological narratives: the *curia* is primarily the meeting place for the Roman Senate. Homer mentions no building, and says only that Odysseus and Menelaus 'went among the assembled Trojans' (*Il.* 3.209).

198 plenaque adhuc erat illa uiris: at that stage the number of Trojan nobles had not been depleted by deaths in battle.

198–9 egi | . . . causam: legal language. See 5–6n.

199 communis Graecia: 188n.; the conjecture *communem* (Bentley) seems unnecessary. Ulysses is using the language of the ambassador's official address.

200 accusoque: another legal term, rarely found in verse.

praedamque: the possessions with which Helen left Sparta in company with Paris: at *Il.* 7.350–1 Antenor tries to persuade the Trojans to give back 'Argive Helen together with her possessions'.

201 Priamum Priamoque Antenora iunctum: polyptoton, repetition of the same word in a different case, is often used by poets in descriptions of alliance and paternity: see Wills (1996) 33–41. A

similar effect is found at 404–5 *Troia simul Priamusque cadunt, Priameïa coniunx | perdidit . . . formam.*

Antenora: Antenor was a wise old Trojan counsellor 'joined with' Priam both in the sense that he is described by Homer as keeping company with him (*Il.* 3.146–9) and also because he sided with Priam in advocating a peaceful settlement of the war (see 200n.: we assume that it was the persuasive powers of Ulysses which prompted Antenor to give his conciliatory advice). For that reason, and because he had entertained the ambassadors in his house (196–204n.), he and his sons were spared at the sack of Troy, according to later tradition: see Frazer (1921) on Apollod. *Epit.* 5.21.

202–4 Paris and his followers could scarcely restrain their fury. This seems to be an allusion to *Il.* 11.122–5, 138–42, where we learn that a certain Antimachus, who had received bribes from Paris to speak against the return of Helen, had also advocated the murder of the ambassadors Odysseus and Menelaus.

203 scis hoc, Menelae: he appeals to Menelaus as witness to the truth of his statement.

204 'That was the first day on which you and I risked our lives together.' There would be many others once the fighting began. Ulysses is canvassing for the vote of Menelaus by alleging their special association in danger.

205–15 The Missing Years. Ancient tradition related little of this period. Ulysses claims to have made himself a useful factotum during the siege of Troy, which lasted for nine years (*Il.* 2.295, 328–30): he is a man of speech (205 *consilio*, 213 *consolor*, 214 *doceo*) *and* of action (205 *manu*, 211 *facta*). The *Iliad* provides examples of him behaving in these ways: see 216–37n. Ancient writers who discuss the moral, physical and intellectual qualities needed by a good general recommend men with characteristics very similar to those attributed to himself by Ulysses: he must be both good at fighting and, in order to encourage others to fight, good at speaking (Onasander 1.13–16; cf. Sall. *Jug.* 7.5 *quod difficillimum in primis est, et proelio strenuus erat et bonus consilio*); in war he must foresee all contingencies, and when there is no fighting he must keep the troops well fed and exercised: see e.g. Onas. 1 *passim*, Xen. *Cyrop.* 1.6.18, 6.2.25–40.

205 Longa referre mora est: the nine-year siege was a long delay, and a full narrative of Ulysses' useful acts would result in a corresponding prolongation of his speech.

est: 222n.

206 utiliter: cf. 211, 215 *usus*, 191 *utilitas populi*, 188 *publica commoda*. Ulysses constantly emphasises that he subordinates his own interests to the common good. There is an implicit contrast with Ajax, a hero of the old school whose aim is personal glory. Thucydides (2.40.2) has the great statesman Pericles define the ideal citizen as one who participates in the affairs of the city and is not 'useless' (ἀχρεῖος).

tempore: ablative of duration of time (K–S 1.360–1).

207 post acies primas: Ovid seems to follow a chronology which has the embassy precede the first Greek landing at Troy, though in the *Cypria* the embassy was sent first. Homer mentions briefly the fate of Protesilaus, treated at greater length in the *Cypria*, who leapt first from the Greek ships on to Trojan soil and was killed by Hector (*Il.* 2.698–702). Routed after Achilles' killing of Cycnus, the Trojans retired for nine years within their walls (173n.). The death of Protesilaus is mentioned, and that of Cycnus narrated at length, at *Met.* 12.64–145.

208 copia 'opportunity for' + genitive (*OLD* s.v. 7).

210–11 Ulysses directs his scorn at Ajax: the traditional and inflexible hero was good only for fighting, and was quite useless except in battle. In Ajax' main strength is shown to lie also a great weakness.

211–15 In a long sentence Ulysses gives an unelaborated enumeration of the various services which he unobtrusively rendered to the Greeks. The list is inspired by scenes featuring Ulysses in the *Iliad* (212, 213, 215nn.). He pictures himself as a master of deception (212 *hostibus insidior*), strategy (212 *fossa munimina cingo*), oratory (213 *consolor socios*), and good sense (214–15 *doceo*, etc.): he is resourceful, indefatigable, infinitely adaptable. He does not use Ajax' strong distinction between words and deeds, but counts his speeches, too, as *facta* (211).

212 hostibus insidior: we know of no ambushes or killings by Ulysses during this period; but clearly he or Ovid has in mind episodes such as those listed contemptuously by Ajax at lines 98–9 (q.v. nn.).

fossa munimina cingo: we are presumably to imagine fieldworks like that suggested by Nestor at *Il.* 7.336–43: 'Let us quickly construct a high defensive wall (= *munimen*) as a defence for ourselves and our ships, and in the wall let us make well-fitting gates, so that

there may be a passage for chariots through them. Outside the wall let us dig nearby a deep ditch (=*fossa*) to keep back chariots and men on every side ...' This is one of wise Nestor's most famous pieces of advice in the *Iliad*: Ulysses wishes to give the impression that he, too, has been a sage counsellor.

All MSS read *fossas munimine cingo*, but the *Iliad* passage quoted above suggests that *fossa munimina cingo* (Ehwald) is what Ovid wrote: the ditch was outside the wall and protected the approach to it.

213 consolor socios: particularly in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus is seen encouraging his men when they are dispirited (e.g. 10.172–7); but in the *Iliad*, too, he has a hortatory role. In Book 2, having put down the upstart Thersites (216–37n.), he urges the Greeks to 'endure and wait' (299–300). He will refer to this episode at line 234 (*trepidos ciues exhortor in hostem*).

longi taedia belli: the hero most famed for finding means of whiling away the time was Palamedes, who is said to have invented draughts and dice in order to divert the minds of the Greeks from their hunger (Soph. *TGF* F 479 Radt). It may be that, as well as implying that his exhortations made the Greeks resigned to their long wait, Ulysses is taking credit for a famous act of his bitterest enemy (cf. 212n.).

214 alendi: cf. *Il.* 19.216–37, where Odysseus gives sage advice to Achilles, fasting after the death of Patroclus, about the need for troops to be properly fed and thus fit for battle.

215 armandique: in Book 2 of the *Iliad*, after Odysseus has given Thersites his just deserts (213n.), Homer records the reaction of the bystanders: ' "Odysseus has done countless good things before now, taking the lead in counsel and getting us ready for battle, but this is far the best thing that he has done for the Greeks" ' (2.272–4). The phrase translated 'getting us ready for battle' (*polemon te korussōn*) is slightly problematic; the verb is cognate with the word for 'helmet' (*korys*) and may have suggested literal arming to Ovid.

Underlying this statement is the idea that, just as Ulysses is in other respects an expert in arming, so he ought to know who should have the arms of Achilles.

mittor quo postulat usus: Odysseus was often used for delicate missions: he detected Achilles on Scyros, brought Iphigenia to Aulis, and accompanied Menelaus on the embassy to Troy (162–80, 181–

204, 196–204nn.); he is later to fetch Philoctetes from Lemnos (45–54, 323nn.); and during the *Iliad* he returns Chryseis to her father (1.440–5) and is sent in Book 9 with Ajax and Phoenix to try to persuade Achilles to rejoin the fighting (see p. 11).

216–37 These lines are a Ulyssean version of the first half of Book 2 of the *Iliad.* There Zeus, wishing to punish Agamemnon for his treatment of Achilles (176n.), decides to send to him a deceptive dream promising immediate defeat of the Trojans. Agamemnon reports his dream to the other leaders and prepares to attack Troy, having first tested the morale of his troops. He gathers them together and, carrying out his plan of testing their enthusiasm, suggests immediate flight back to Greece. No sooner have the troops heard this than they rush to the ships and prepare to set sail. They are prevented from leaving only by the prompt action of Odysseus, who, at the instigation of his patron goddess Athena (Minerva), goes round the army and rallies nobles and common soldiers alike (188–206). At a second assembly Thersites criticises the leaders and again calls for retreat, but Odysseus chastises him and in a long speech gives good reasons why the Greeks should continue with the war (284–332). Long speeches to the same end follow from Nestor and Agamemnon, and the troops are prevailed upon to stay and prepare for battle.

On the unfair criticism of Ajax contained in Ulysses' version of events, see below, 223–4n.

216–17 Ulysses' narrative is elliptical here, partly at least because his audience (and we as readers of Homer) know the basic facts: he omits all mention of the content of Agamemnon's dream, and seems to imply that the dream advised the king to test his troops' morale. In fact the idea of testing was all Agamemnon's own: 'Come, let us arm the Greeks; but first I will test them with a speech, as is the custom, and shall order them to flee with their many-benched ships; you [leaders] must restrain them with your words, each in his own position' (*Il.* 2.72–5); Ulysses attributes motivation to the dream in order perhaps to save Agamemnon's face (cf. 230n.). In spite of the words 'as is the custom', such testing is unexampled elsewhere, and the description of it in the passage which follows is in several ways problematic: see 223–4nn.

217 iubet alludes to Homer's κελεύσω, 'I shall order' (*Il.* 2.74: 216–17n.).

218 auctore: in his speech to test the troops, Agamemnon makes his supposed sudden change of policy convincing by claiming 'Zeus orders me to go back to Greece without renown' (*Il.* 2.114–15).

219–20 non sinat ... poscat | ... pugnet: the subjunctives are jussive: 'let Ajax not allow this', i.e. he should not allow it.

219 hoc: the flight of the Greeks.

220 quodque potest: Ajax, according to Ulysses, *nil nisi proelia nouit* (210). At that crucial moment he might at least have used to effect the one talent that he had: if he had no resource in *dicta*, he could have used his physical prowess to hold back the Greeks.

220 remoratur here renders the Greek verb *erētūein*, 'restrain', a recurrent word in the Iliadic account: *Il.* 2.75 (quoted in 216–17n.), 164, 180, 189 (97, 99).

ituros: an example of Ovid's flexible use of the future participle (cf. 274n.); here the meaning is virtually *ne irent*.

221 dat quod uaga turba sequatur: i.e. give a lead to the mass of troops, who are changeable in mood and easily influenced. Most manuscripts read *det* here, a jussive subjunctive in series with *sinat*, *poscat* and *pugnet* in lines 219–20. The flow of the sentence seems slightly to favour *dat*, a further indicative in asyndeton.

222 non erat hoc nimium 'that would not be too much [to ask]'. Latin uses the indicative in such cases of possibility, where in English a potential subjunctive would be expected; cf. 205 *longa referre mora est*, 'it would take a long time to list . . .' (Roby (1896) §1535).

magna loquenti 'boastful': the phrase characterises Ajax as *miles gloriosus* or braggart soldier.

223–4 Ulysses claims that Ajax himself joined in the rush to put to sea and abandon the war. In the Homeric account no reference is made to Ajax (or to any other Greek leader) by name, and most readers assume that he is one of those who were present at the council when Agamemnon put forward his plan of testing the troops; indeed, at *Il.* 2.143 it is specifically stated that Agamemnon's testing speech affected 'those who had not been present at the council'. There are, however, some problematic aspects of Homer's account which have given Ovid the opportunity to have Ulysses make this apparently outrageous accusation. There is some evidence that in Book 2 two versions of events have been conflated, and that the idea of testing the troops has been added to an account in which the sug-

gestion of retreat was seriously meant (Agamemnon in fact does make the suggestion seriously, in identical words, at the beginning of Book 9). Thus when Athena tracks down Odysseus at his ship in order to encourage him to stop the retreat, she finds him 'not getting ready his well-benched ship' – not, however, because he knows that Agamemnon is only testing the troops, but because 'grief had occupied his heart and mind' (2.170–1; cf. 228n.). It is as if he sees the retreat as inevitable, but cannot yet bring himself to take part. Similarly, when Athena addresses him she seems to include him among those who are fleeing (175). None of the Greek leaders is described as attempting to restrain his troops, as had been agreed (cf. schol. bT *ad* 2.144[d]). When Odysseus himself addresses the leaders who are fleeing, his words suggest an uneasy amalgam of two versions of the story: '... take your seat and make your troops resume their places. You do not understand clearly Agamemnon's purpose: he is testing [them? you?], but soon he will punish the Greeks. Did not we all hear what he said at the council?...' These lines were much discussed in antiquity, and at least one scholar proposed to delete the words after 'purpose'; some texts kept the last sentence quoted but punctuated it as a statement, not a question: 'not all of us heard what he said at the council' (schol. bT *ad* 2.194[b]). In other words, there is uncertainty in the Homeric account over who knows what; it is not explicitly stated that any of the Greek leaders except Odysseus refrained from flight; and it is possible to read the passage as implying that even those privy to Agamemnon's plan were in some way caught up in the mass enthusiasm for retreat. Ovid makes Ulysses take advantage of this lack of clarity to accuse Ajax of cowardice.

223 quid quod 'what about the fact that ..?', a rhetorical phrase used to introduce a further element in a series of points. Cf. 117, 296 *adde quod.*

uidi ... uidere: repetition with variation of the quantity of the first syllable: cf. 100, 268–9, 764nn.

puduitque: sc. *me.*

223–4 uidi ... | cum tu terga dares 'I looked on while you ran away': again he turns accusingly to Ajax. This is Ulysses' counter to the accusation of Ajax that he fled (69 *fugam*) when he should have been helping the aged Nestor. That charge, like Ulysses' here, is based on a controversial interpretation of the words of Homer: cf.

63–81n. The phrase *terga dare* renders the Homeric μετὰ νῶτα βαλεῖν, the words used of Odysseus' flight by Ajax at *Il.* 8.94.

224 tu: emphatic.

225–7 In Book 2 of the *Iliad* Odysseus makes three speeches at this moment of crisis. The first and second are brief, and are addressed to the leaders and troops respectively; in the third, which is much longer, he encourages the Greeks to be patient and not to leave Troy (190–7, 200–6, 284–332; 226n.). Book 2 in general shows his rhetorical powers in a good light: his ability to speak appropriately to the occasion is illustrated by contrast first with Agamemnon's testing speech, which is all too persuasive but to a bad end, and secondly with the tirade of Thersites (216–37n.), who is described by Homer as 'a babbler of words who knew many unordered ideas in his head' (*Il.* 2.212–13) and by Odysseus as 'a ready talker but devoid of judgement as a speaker' (246). His reported words here are particularly emphatic: alliteration of d- (*dementia*, *dixi*, *dimittere*, *domum*, *decimo*, *dedecus*) is reinforced by the metrical equivalence of *dementia* and *dimittere* corresponding to their equivalence in sense, and by a similar effect in *decimo* and *dedecus*.

225–6 quae uos dementia . . . | concitat . . . ?: the words *quae te dementia cepit?* are used in an erotic context twice in Virgil's *Eclogues* (2.69, 6.47), and twice in non-erotic contexts in the *Aeneid*. At *Aen.* 5.465 Aeneas addresses the words to Dares by way of ordering him no longer to resist the gods' will in continuing to strive against his opponent in a boxing match. More relevant, perhaps, to the present passage is *Aen.* 9.601, where Numanus Remulus, taunting the besieged Trojans, cries out '*quis deus Italiam, quae uos dementia adegit?*' and continues '*non hic Atridae nec fandi fictor Vlixes*' ('What god, what madness, drove you to Italy? Here are no sons of Atreus or lying Ulysses [but stiffer opposition]').

226 captam dimittere Troiam 'let slip from your grasp Troy which is as good as captured'. In his long speech at *Il.* 2.284–332 Odysseus gives as his grounds for optimism a prophecy of the seer Calchas that Troy would be captured (329 αἱρήσομεν, 332 ἕλωμεν) in the tenth year of the war.

Some good MSS have *dimittite* here, which is possible if the line is punctuated . . . *o socii? captam dimittite Troiam* ('. . . go on, let slip a city which is as good as captured!'). This has the advantage of elimi-

nating the rare construction of *concito* with the infinitive; but in sense and rhythm it is inferior.

o socii: Virg. *Aen.* 1.198, 2.387, 3.560: another epic tag (cf. 225–6n.).

227 decimo . . . dedecus: a similar word-play with numerals is found at *Od.* 5.262–3: 'it was the fourth (*tetraton*) day, and he had accomplished (*tetelesto*) everything; on the fifth (*pemptōi*) Calypso sent (*pemp'*) him from her island'. See Skutsch (1956) 536 = (1968) 145.

dedecus alludes to Odysseus' words at *Il.* 2.298 'it is shameful to stay for so long and go away empty-handed'.

228 in quae 'to say which'. For this use of *in* to express purpose cf. 29, 286, *OLD* s.v. 21.

228–9 dolor ipse disertum | fecerat: Ulysses falsely depreciates his rhetorical powers, and implies that his words came from the heart; cf. *Rem.* 310 *dole tantum, sponte disertus eris*. Here the reference is to the 'grief' (ἄχος) felt by Odysseus at *Il.* 2.171 (quoted in 223–4n.). He omits to mention that it was the goddess Athena who spurred him to action: she found him standing grief-stricken and apparently indecisive, and roused him to restrain the troops and their leaders. Allegorical interpreters of Homer (Ulysses perhaps amongst them!) took Athena to represent wisdom, the prompting of one's mind; but in Book 2 her intervention has been preceded by extensive scenes on Olympus which cannot easily be allegorised away.

229 auersos: i.e. *terga dantes* (cf. 224).

230 Some critics have wished to cut out this line as an interpolation, since it was Ulysses, not Agamemnon, who recalled the fleeing Greeks to assembly (*Il.* 2.207–8): why, they ask, should he give the credit for this act to his leader? One answer to this question may be that this is another example of Ulysses taking account of his audience: Agamemnon is among those about to make judgement on him, and he is careful throughout this part of his speech to represent himself as a useful instrument rather than as a rival to Agamemnon's leadership (cf. 205–15n.). In the Homeric account, Agamemnon did summon the first assembly, in order to make his testing speech.

There seems no good reason why a line giving a false version of events should have been interpolated. If it were removed, *etiamnunc* would refer to the chaotic scene at the ships, when Ulysses made his first brief pair of speeches; but lines 232–5 show that it must refer to the subsequent assembly.

231 Telamoniades: 22n.

231–2 hiscere quicquam | audet 'dared so much as to open his mouth'. *audet* implies that Ajax, too, was *terrore pauens* (cf. 223–4) – indeed, even more cowardly than the notorious coward Thersites (233 *Thersites etiam*). It is true that in *Iliad* 2 he is not made to speak when Odysseus, Nestor and Agamemnon do; but it is hardly the fault of Ajax that Homer has let him down in this way.

232 ausus erat: a play on Thersites' name, which is formed from *tharsos* (Aeolic *thersos*), 'boldness'. *proteruus* in line 233 is perhaps another reference to the etymology.

incessere dictis 'assail with words' (cf. 566), a rendering of the Homeric description of Thersites' speech Ἀγαμέμνονα νείκεε μύθωι, 'he taunted Agamemnon with words' (*Il.* 2.224).

233 per me: with these words, emphatically placed after a sense-pause and immediately after the caesura, Ulysses again stresses his usefulness to the Greek cause.

per me haud impune proteruus 'thanks to me his insolence did not go unpunished'. At the assembly after order has been restored Thersites continues to advocate flight back to Greece. Odysseus reproaches him for his insolence and ends by striking him with his staff (*Il.* 2.211–69). This humiliation of Thersites is strongly approved by those present (the passage is quoted in 123–4, 215nn.).

234–5 In these three lines Ulysses seems to claim rather more than he delivered. It is Agamemnon, the third speaker, who subsequently exhorts the troops to battle (*Il.* 2.381–93); Ulysses, speaking first, exhorts them to remain rather than flee. Moreover, line 235 sounds rather like a summary of the exhortations of Nestor, the second speaker (337–68).

234 ciues 'fellow-countrymen'. But the word is an anachronism from Roman political oratory; cf. 262. In Homer Odysseus addresses the Greeks as 'my friends' (φίλοι) in his long speech of exhortation and encouragement (*Il.* 2.299).

235 reposco, if it is the correct reading, must mean 'summon back' (*OLD* s.v. *posco* 3). Some MSS have *repono*, 'restore', which is supported by a famous passage of Horace (*Carm.* 3.5.29–30 *nec uera uirtus, cum semel excidit, | curat reponi deterioribus*); it may well be right.

236–7 Here Ulysses uses the same appropriatory argument as in lines 171–8.

236 quodcumque potest fecisse uideri: an unenthusiastic and qualified acknowledgement of Ajax' valour, which seems to cast unspecified doubts on its very existence: *potest fecisse* makes independent sense ('has been able to do / may have done'); but this praise, such as it is, is undercut by *uideri*.

237 meum est: cf. 173 *quod Thebae cecidere, meum est*, 236–7n.

238–54 Ulysses counters the insult of Ajax that he has done nothing without the help of Diomedes (100 *luce nihil gestum, nihil est Diomede remoto*). He argues that it is a privilege to be singled out as trusty companion by such a hero; and he proceeds to tell of the Dolon and Rhesus episodes in terms much more favourable to himself than those of Ajax' contemptuous dismissal (98 *Rhesum imbellemque Dolona*).

In both the Epic Cycle and the *Iliad* Odysseus and Diomedes often acted together. They went to Scyros to fetch Achilles (162–80n.) and to Mycenae to fetch Iphigenia (181–204n.); in the *Cypria* they collaborated in killing Palamedes (*EGF* fr. 20); they went together, in some accounts at least, to bring back Philoctetes from Lemnos (Frazer (1921) on Apollod. *Epit.* 5.8; 45–54n.); they ambushed Helenus and stole the Palladium from Troy (99n.); and they killed by a trick Philomelus, king of Lesbos, presumably during the raid on that island (*Od.* 4.341–6; Hellanicus, *FGH* 4 F 150, 173a). In the *Iliad* the Doloneia in Book 10 is their most notable adventure, but they are found associated also at 5.519 (they and the two Ajaxes urge the Greeks to fight), 8.91–8 (Odysseus ignores Diomedes' plea to help Nestor; cf. 63–81n.), and 11.310–19 (they launch a brave counterattack against the Trojans). Bömer quotes Apuleius, *De deo Socratis* 18 *Vlixes cum Diomede . . . ueluti consilium et auxilium, mens et manus, animus et gladius*; cf. 240n. For a less illustrious episode in Ulysses' relationship with Diomedes, see 105–6n.

238 petitue 'or seeks out your company'.

239 mecum communicat acta: the verb *communico* seems not to be used elsewhere in epic verse, and the whole expression has an official sound.

240 me probat: Ovid has in mind Diomedes' words in Book 10 of the *Iliad* when he is asked whom he wishes to take as companion on his dangerous night mission into the Trojan camp: 'If you wish me to make choice of a companion myself, how could I not think of

godlike Odysseus, who has a wise heart and a noble spirit in every extremity, and who is a favourite of Pallas Athena? If I had him as a companion, we could both come back safely from burning fire – such is his unequalled intelligence' (10.242–7).

socio 'as comrade'.

confidit Vlixe: Ulysses self-importantly speaks of himself in the third person; cf. 17–18n. *confido* occasionally takes ablative rather than dative in classical Latin: see *OLD* s.v. 1.

241 est aliquid 'it is no light thing': litotes. This is a favourite idiom of Ovid: cf. McKeown (1989) on *Am.* 1.12.3–4.

242 nec me sors ire iubebat: 82–97n. Ajax claimed that the Greeks prayed that the lot to fight Hector should fall to him; Ulysses counters with the claim that no external compulsion forced *him* to accompany Diomedes (*me* is emphatic). He of course omits to mention that those who drew lots had volunteered to do so (88n.).

243 sic tamen 'even in those circumstances', sc. of not being obliged by the lot to expose myself to danger.

spreto noctisque hostisque periclo: see 15n., 100.

spreto 'spurning': the perfect participle has present sense, as often.

244 ausum: in proposing the mission to spy on the Trojans Nestor expresses the hope that some Greek 'with daring heart' (2.205 θυμῶι τολμήεντι) might be found, and Hector speaks similarly (307 τλαίη) in proposing a spying mission against the Greek lines. At *Aen.* 12.350–1 Virgil uses *audeo* twice of Dolon's exploit (*ausus* ... *ausis*).

eadem quae nos: the Doloneia is structured with elaborate parallelism. Dolon, the Trojan spy, is promised Achilles' horses if he is successful in his mission; the Greek spies, Odysseus and Diomedes, kill him on their way to the Trojan camp and complete their mission by slaughtering the newly arrived Trojan ally Rhesus, with whose splendid horses they make a triumphant return.

Phrygia de gente: 44n.

245 interimo: this is not true: it is Diomedes who kills both Dolon and King Rhesus and his companions (*Il.* 10.446–502). In the scene with Rhesus, Odysseus suggests that one of them should kill the Thracians while the other gets ready the horses. In the event, Athena breathes strength into Diomedes, who does the killing;

Odysseus drags away the corpses so that they will not startle the horses. In other words, the Homeric account has Odysseus and Diomedes in their characteristic roles of complementary brains and brawn (see 238–54n.) – a contrast to which Diomedes is made to draw attention in the tragedy *Rhesus* (624–6).

245–6 cuncta ... pararet: before he is killed, Dolon has his fear of immediate death cunningly calmed by Odysseus, who in a lengthy dialogue elicits from him vital details about the disposition of the Trojan forces and their intentions (*Il.* 10.382–445).

246 perfida: the Trojans are not characterised as perfidious by the Greeks in the *Iliad*, but the reference is to Laomedon's refusal to pay to the gods Poseidon and Apollo the reward which he had promised them if they would build the walls of Troy. Apollo is reminded of the story by Poseidon at *Il.* 21.436–60, and it is referred to by him briefly at *Il.* 7.452–3; Ovid tells the story at 11.194–210. On the perfidiousness of Laomedon see also 23n.

247 nec quod specularer habebam 'I had nothing left to spy out' – because Dolon had told him all he wanted to know.

248 promissa ... cum laude: Nestor had promised that the person who carried out the reconnaissance mission successfully would have 'widespread fame among all mankind' (*Il.* 10.212–13).

250 inque suis ipsum castris: the word-order reinforces the sense: *ipsum* is enclosed by *suis ... castris*. Cf. 3–4n.

ipsum ... comitesque: Diomedes (not Ulysses: 245n.) killed twelve of Rhesus' companions, and finally the king himself (*Il.* 10.488, 495).

251 atque ita 'and having done so'. On Ovid's use of this phrase see Kenney (1996) on *Her.* 18.115.

251–2 captiuo uictor ... curru laetos imitante triumphos: another anachronistic reference, since the triumph was an exclusively Roman institution. In triumphal processions victorious generals were drawn in an ornate chariot by a team of white horses. To readers familiar with the *Iliad* the equipage of Rhesus will seem particularly suitable for Ulysses' description: Dolon calls the horses 'whiter than snow' and their chariot 'adorned with gold and silver'; Rhesus' golden armour is said in the same passage to be more suitable for gods than men (10.437–41).

251 uotisque potitus: after Diomedes and Odysseus have set

out on their way to the camp, they hear a favourable bird-omen, and Odysseus prays to Athena that she should grant them a safe return 'having done a great deed which the Trojans will rue' (10.282). Diomedes, too, prays to the goddess (283–94). After their return, they make thank-offerings to her (570–1, 577–9).

253–4 The sense is 'if you deny me the arms of Achilles, whose horses Dolon demanded for his night's work, Ajax will be more generous than you are' (because at lines 101–2 Ajax had suggested that the arms should be divided between Ulysses and Diomedes, if Ulysses must have any share in them at all). The lines form a link between the Dolon–Rhesus narrative and the main point at issue, and one implication of them is that Ulysses, by preventing Dolon's mission, prevented Greek defeat and Dolon's acquiring the horses of Achilles.

253 cuius = *illius cuius.*

pretium pro nocte: the Doloneia was also known in antiquity as the *Nyctegersia* or 'Night spent awake' (Strabo 9.5.18, Accius, 483–93 W = 672, 482–92 R^3).

poposcerat: before setting out on his mission, Dolon, conscious of his unworthiness, took the precaution of binding Hector with an oath to grant him Achilles' horses (*Il.* 10.313–27).

254 negate: a more energetic way of expressing the conditional (= *si negaueritis*).

fueritque: *-que* links this clause closely with what precedes, and the verb is therefore probably perfect subjunctive, parallel in sense with *negate*: 'deny them to me [altogether], and allow Ajax' proposal [to share them: 102] to be more generous than yours' (Kenney (1984) 35).

255–62 Ulysses, arguing against Ajax' allegation that he had done nothing *luce ... gestum* (100), lists the Trojans he has killed in open fight, and shows his battle scars. Ajax, he claims, has suffered no wounds.

In these lines Ulysses makes the most of his martial exploits as recorded in the *Iliad*, but they amount to little more than a bare list of names, and there is no distinguished episode of single combat. *quique minus celebres* (261) is a humorous Ovidian touch: there hardly could be heroes less well known than these.

Ulysses' victims are from two episodes in the *Iliad*. In Book 5, after

the wounding of the Lycian hero Sarpedon by Tlepolemus, Odysseus 'pondered in his heart and mind whether he should first go after Sarpedon or whether he should kill more of the Lycians. But it was not fated that great-hearted Odysseus should kill the mighty son of Zeus with sharp bronze, and Athena turned his attention to the Lycian host' (5.671–6). There follows the two-line list reproduced by Ovid (257–8n.); 'and godlike Odysseus would have killed even more of the Lycians if great Hector of the flashing helmet had not noticed what was happening ...' (679–80). This is not an episode which redounds to Odysseus' greatest credit: Homer draws attention to the fact that he did not kill the great Lycian hero, and his moment of glory is cut short by Hector.

Odysseus' second notable exploit occurs in Book 11, where, isolated in the battle, he kills the victims listed by Ovid at lines 259–60, together with a certain Deiopites (11.420–7): 'First he struck Deiopites ..., then he killed Thoön and Ennomus. Next he struck with his spear Chersidamas in the belly under his bossed shield as he leapt down from his chariot ... Leaving them lying there, he struck with his spear Charops son of Hippasus, the brother of wealthy Socus.' He is then wounded in the flank by Socus, whom he manages to kill before being rescued by Ajax (428–55; see 63–81n. §3). It is notable that Ulysses does not mention this encounter directly, although it is described by Homer at much greater length than any of the others; instead, he turns it to advantage by omitting reference to the man who gave him the wound while revealing to his auditors the wound itself, now safely classified as an honourable 'war-wound'.

Hyginus has a chapter listing the results of some ancient scholar's tally of Iliadic deaths (*Fab.* 114), according to which Ajax had 28 victims, Odysseus 12.

255 Quid ... referam 'why should I mention ...?' The words signpost a *praeteritio*: the speaker claims that it is unnecessary to say that which is about to be said.

Lycii: Lycia, which provided the Trojans with their most important allies, was in the south-western corner of Asia Minor.

256 cum multo sanguine fudi: cf. 85–6 (Ajax speaking of Hector) *hunc ego sanguineae successu caedis ouantem | eminus ingenti resupinum pondere fudi*: Ulysses tries to beat Ajax at his own rhetorical game.

cum 'with', not 'when'.

257–8 These lines are a close rendering of *Il.* 5.677–8 ἔνθ' ὅ γε Κοίρανον εἷλεν Ἀλάστορά τε Χρομίον τε | Ἄλκανδρόν θ' Ἅλιόν τε Νοήμονά τε Πρύτανίν τε ('then he killed Coeranus and Alastor and Chromius and Alcander and Halius and Noemon and Prytanis'); line 258 is borrowed verbatim from Virg. *Aen.* 9.767, where it describes Trojans killed by the rampaging Turnus. For a reader of Virgil, the revival of Homer's dead warriors might seem to underline the horrible re-enactment of the Trojans' suffering in their homeland; Ovid puts the Virgilian line back into its original context and 'corrects' Virgil (Hardie (1994) *ad loc.*).

257 Iphitiden: this patronymic of Coeranus replaces the words 'then he killed' in the Homeric line quoted in 257–8n. Ovid has borrowed it from elsewhere in Homer: at *Il.* 8.128 it refers to Nestor's charioteer Archeptolemus. Another Coeranus, a charioteer, is killed at *Il.* 17.611–14. Perhaps reminiscence of these two contexts led Ovid to use the word *Iphitides* here.

Alastoraque Chromiumque: the lengthening of *-que* before mute + liquid consonants is unusual in Latin but normal in Homeric hexameters. Cf. *Noëmonaque Prytaninque* in the following line.

259 cum Chersidamante Thoöna 'Chersidamas and Thoön'. They were not killed as a pair: *cum*, here used to lend some variety to the catalogue, often links two nouns in this way; cf. 274, 292–3.

260 fatis immitibus ... actum 'driven on [to his death] by cruel fate'. Ennomus is given no such distinguishing phrase in the Homeric account (*Il.* 11.422: 255–62n.); but of a different Ennomus, a renowned seer, it is said at *Il.* 2.859–60 that 'he was not able to keep off dark fate by means of his omens, but he was killed by Achilles' (as is duly recounted at 17.218). Ovid appears to have conflated the two Ennomi; he implies that the man knew he was destined to die but felt impelled to fight none the less.

261 quique minus celebres: 255–62n.

262–5 In the *Odyssey* are two scenes reminiscent of these lines. (1) At 18.66–70 Odysseus, disguised in beggar's rags, strips to fight the rival beggar Irus and reveals to the onlookers a surprisingly well muscled and powerful body. (2) At 19.392–3 Odysseus is recognised by his old nurse when she sees on his leg the scar from a wound inflicted by a wild boar when he was a boy. From Homer, therefore, we already associate Ulysses with dramatic revelations of this type.

Revealing battle scars (255–62n.) was a common device in Roman courts to gain jurors' sympathy: cf. Petr. 1.1 *declamatores ... clamant, 'haec uulnera pro libertate publica excepi, hunc oculum pro uobis impendi ...'*, Val. Max. 7.7.1, Oakley (1997) on Livy 6.20.8, and see p. 21.

262 sunt et mihi uulnera: the meaning of *et* is not clear. It may be displaced from first position in the sentence ('and, moreover'); it may qualify *uulnera* ('I have wounds, too [to prove that I was in the thick of the action]'); or, more naturally, it may qualify *mihi* ('I, too, have wounds'). If it does qualify *mihi*, however, the reference must be to the wounds of the victims just listed, since he is about to point out that Ajax has no wounds at all (266–7).

ciues: 234n. Here the word adds to the picture of Ulysses as the falsely accused Roman war veteran.

263 ipso ... loco 'by virtue of their position' – i.e. not in the back.

pulchra 'honourable' (*OLD* s.v. 3a).

uanis ... uerbis 'the words which Ajax calls "empty" '. Ulysses alludes to Ajax' sneer *tutius est igitur fictis contendere uerbis* (9): he has mentioned his own *facta*, and he will produce the evidence to substantiate them. There does, however, underlie the word *uanis* the implication that Ulysses' speech is a misplaced exercise in persuasion: cf. 382–3.

265 pectora ... exercita: the words imply the exercise of mental as well as physical powers: cf. 369, where Ulysses argues *pectora sunt potiora manu*, and for the *pectus* as seat of intellectual powers *OLD* s.v. 3b. The line addresses Ajax' claim *nempe ego mille meo protexi pectore puppes* (93).

266–7 Ulysses contrives to turn to Ajax' discredit the fact that Homer tells of no occasion when he received a wound: he is unwounded not because he is an excellent warrior, but because he has not been willing to spill his blood for his comrades.

267 habet sine uulnere corpus: although it is not consistent with the logic of Ulysses' argument, there is an allusion here to the tradition of Ajax' invulnerability; cf. 390 *ne quisquam Aiacem possit superare nisi Aiax*. The story, which is first attested only in the fifth-century poets Aeschylus and Pindar (Aesch. *TGF* F 83 Radt: see Radt's nn.; Pi. *Isth.* 6.45–54), may be modelled on the better known tale of Achilles' being vulnerable only in the heel (an aspect of the

myth carefully avoided by Homer: Davies (1989) 58). In Pindar's account, Heracles, wearing the invulnerable skin of the Nemean lion, prays for Telamon that he shall have a son as 'unbroken in his nature' as is the lionskin. Tradition followed this analogy in making Ajax either vulnerable only to himself, as the lion was vulnerable only to its own claws (hence his suicide with his own sword), or vulnerable only in the side, where the lionskin did not quite cover Heracles (hence his plunging his sword into that place).

268–79 'Ajax ought not to have said that he alone saved the ships from burning [93]: Patroclus did the same. Nor was Ajax the only Greek hero to volunteer to fight Hector [82–90]: eight others offered themselves. And Hector escaped unharmed!'

In this section Ulysses is concerned to undermine Ajax' claim to unique valour. In doing so he is merely drawing attention to a rhetorical strategy which Ajax uses several times himself (99, 105–6nn.).

The twelve lines 268–79 are structured so as to correspond to the preceding twelve lines 255–67: both begin with a rhetorical question introduced by *quid?* and both conclude with two lines introduced by an adversative particle (266 *at* ~ 278 *sed*) and referring to lack of wounds (267 *habet sine uulnere corpus* of Ajax himself ~ 279 *abit uiolatus uulnere nullo* of Ajax' opponent).

268 hoc looks forward to the *si*-clauses.

268–9 Quid tamen hoc refert, si . . . refert . . . 'what does it signify if he says that . . . ?' The word-play on *rēfert* and *rĕfert* is similar to so-called prosodic variation, in which the same word is scanned in different ways: cf. 100, 319, 764nn. Another example where different words spelled the same occur in the same line is 10.698 *poena lĕuis uisa est; ergo modo lēuia fuluae | colla iubae uelant.* Alexandrian poets seem to have been the first to exploit alternative scansion in these ways. Here the effect is to belittle Ajax' claims.

pro classe Pelasga | . . . contra Troasque Iouemque: these words echo the account of Ajax: *ecce ferunt Troes ferrumque ignesque Iouemque | in Danaas classes* (91–2).

270 confiteorque: cf. the parenthetic use of *fateor* in line 16. *-que* here belongs grammatically to *tulit*. It is a characteristic of Ovid to attach *-que* in this way to a word which formally it does not qualify: cf. 329–30, 445, 874, 947.

neque enim: for these words making a transition, and often introducing a parenthesis, cf. 291, 564, 900.

270–1 maligne | detractare: Ulysses again contrives to impugn Ajax' method of argument while using the same strategy himself.

271 meum est governs the infinitive: 'it is not my habit to ...' Cf. the use of *meum est* with *quod(cumque)* at 173, 236–7.

ne 'in case he should ...': *OLD* s.v. 13a.

communia 'the achievements of us all'.

solus: cf. 352–3, where Ulysses uses a different argument against Ajax' claim to sole credit.

272 reddat: *ut* is to be understood from *ne* in the previous line: K–S II 563–4.

273 Actorides 'grandson of Actor': the Greek *-dēs* ending is sometimes used for 'descendant of' rather than strictly as a patronymic. Actor was father of Menoetius, father of Patroclus (Ap. Rh. 1.69); in the *Iliad* Patroclus is called *Menoitiadēs* (1.307, etc.).

sub imagine tutus Achillis: on Patroclus' intervention to save the ships see 8, 82–97 §4, 108–9nn. Although Ajax had defended stubbornly, he was disarmed by Hector, and his ship had been fired (*Il.* 16.114–23). At this moment Patroclus is allowed to put on Achilles' armour and enter the battle; only then are the Trojans forced back.

tutus: Patroclus was safe so long as he defended the ships and was mistaken for Achilles (*Il.* 16.281–3), but he was killed by Hector when he went beyond his instructions from Achilles (16.83–100, 18.13–14) and continued to fight after the Trojans had been driven back. Before Patroclus goes out, Achilles prays that he may return 'unscathed' (ἀσκηθής, 16.247), and we are told that Zeus did not grant that he should come back 'safe' (σόον, 16.252); *tutus* may be an allusion to those words.

274 Troas: the Greek third-declension accusative plural masculine, Τρῶας, with short final vowel.

arsuris cum defensore: these words are to be taken together: but for Patroclus, the ships would have gone up in flames together with Ajax, in spite of his stout defence. Here the future participle is used in potential sense; cf. 220, 881nn.

275–9 On the details of this duel between Ajax and Hector see 82–97n. §3.

275 Hectoreis ... telis: some MSS read *Hectoreo ... marti*, 'the strength of Hector', which is less obvious and may be right; for *mars* qualified by an adjective derived from a proper name cf. [Tib.] 3.7.149 *inuictus Romano marte Britannus.*

solum concurrere: cf. 87 *hunc ego poscentem, cum quo concurreret, unus | sustinui.*

276 regisque ducumque: Agamemnon and the other leaders who volunteered to fight Hector.

277 nonus in officio 'ninth in dutifulness' (*OLD* s.v. *officium* 3d). At *Il.* 7.162–9 the volunteers are listed in the order Agamemnon, Diomedes, the two Ajaxes (i.e. Ajax and his namesake Oilean Ajax), Idomeneus, Meriones, Eurypylus, Thoas, Odysseus. Ulysses' expression, though it can be taken to mean that Ajax was one of nine who volunteered, may also imply that he was the last to come forward – another example of Ulysses creatively adapting the facts, since according to Homer it was he himself who volunteered last. Cf. 82–97n. §3.

praelatus munere sortis: Ajax was distinguished by chance, not by merit: cf. 242 *nec me sors ire iubebat* and n.

278–9 These lines, concluding the section on Ajax' duel with Hector, allude to Ajax' own account while putting a different gloss on the outcome. For *euentus ... pugnae | quis fuit?* cf. 89–90 *si quaeritis huius | fortunam pugnae*; but for *non sum superatus ab illo* (90) Ulysses substitutes *Hector abit uiolatus uulnere nullo*, a mocking echo of Ajax' proud conclusion. Again Ulysses plays fast and loose with the facts: Ajax, though he did not defeat Hector, succeeded at least in drawing blood from a slight wound in his neck (*Il.* 7.262).

278 uestrae: the plural continues the point made in the preceding lines that Ajax did not act alone.

279 abit: probably historic present tense.

nullo as last word of the section increases the bathos; cf. 70n.

280–95 Ulysses claims that, despite his grief at the death of Achilles, he carried his corpse from the battle. If he bore the arms then, he deserves to be awarded them now. Moreover, Achilles' divine mother Thetis would hardly wish them to be awarded to a dolt who could not even comprehend the designs on the shield.

280–5 It is surprising that in his speech Ajax is not made to claim credit for retrieving the body of Achilles. According to the Cyclic *Aethiopis* Achilles was shot by Paris (whether or not in the heel is uncertain). When a battle arose over his corpse, Ajax either carried his body to the ships while Odysseus kept the pursuing Trojans at bay, or carried the body and gave orders that the arms should be taken

(?by Odysseus) separately to the ships (Davies (1989) 58–9). Each hero thus had a claim on the arms. No extant account attributes the retrieval of Achilles' body solely to Ulysses. The emphatic repetitions in line 284 (*his umeris, his, inquam, umeris*), apparently a rhetorical device to heighten the drama and pathos of the moment (Wills (1996) 76–9) and to bring home the suitability of Ulysses' shoulders to receive the arms, perhaps also indicate that he is protesting too much: he knows that this is not the authorised version of events.

280 cogor: he would rather not have to recall that time. Cf. 189n.

281 Graium murus: a translation of the Iliadic phrase ἕρκος Ἀχαιῶν, 'bulwark of the Argives', applied by Homer occasionally to Achilles (*Il.* 1.284) but more often to Ajax: Ulysses is perhaps transferring to Achilles a role which Ajax might claim as his own.

Graium: *Graii*, not *Graeci*, is the usual Latin word for the Greeks in epic. See Austin (1964) on *Aen.* 2.148.

282 lacrimae luctusque timorque: logically these should belong to the rest of the Greeks, not to Ulysses, who wishes to depict himself as cool under fire when all around him are in despair.

283 sublime referrem: the Homeric ὑψόσ' ἀείρας ('raising on high'): *Il.* 10.465, *al.*; but *refero* is often used of bringing home spoils (*OLD* s.v. 1b). *sublime* is a predicative adjective; the expression is very condensed.

284 his . . . umeris: 280–5n.

285 tuli . . . ferre: a play on two meanings of *fero*, 'carry' and 'carry off', 'win' (*OLD* s.v. 36; cf. 283n.). The fact that Ulysses carried both the arms and the man implicitly refutes Ajax' insult that he would not have the strength to wield Achilles' weapons (107–16).

laboro extends the ambiguity of *ferre*: it was hard work carrying Achilles' body, and Ulysses is trying hard to win his case.

286–7 Line 286, together with the preceding narrative, aims to refute Ajax' sneer that Ulysses is too weak to be able to wear Achilles' armour or carry his weapons (107–16); lines 287–95 bring us back to the theme of Ulysses' superior intellect: again the point is made that he has both brains and brawn.

287 sensurus: Ulysses will have the sensitivity and intelligence fully to appreciate the value of the honour bestowed upon him.

288–9 When Patroclus was killed while wearing Achilles' armour

(82–97n. §4), Thetis visited Hephaestus (Vulcan) as a suppliant to ask him to forge a new set of arms (*Il.* 18.368–467). According to Ulysses, she would hardly have gone to so much trouble if she had known that these elaborate arms were to be inherited by Ajax.

288 scilicet points the heavy irony of the statement: 'I daresay'.

caerula mater: Thetis is 'blue' because she is a sea-goddess, 'daughter of the old man of the sea' Nereus (*Il.* 1.538, etc.). Ovid is not the first to use this expression: cf. Prop. 2.9.15, Hor. *Epodes* 13.16, Tib. 1.5.46. The equivalent Greek adjective is *glaukós*, and the sea-god Glaucus is called *caerulus* at line 962; cf. 895 of the metamorphosed Acis. The periphrastic expression at line-end is characteristically epic: cf. 313n.

289 ambitiosa 'entreating', 'solicitous': *ambire* is used for 'getting round' someone, i.e. winning them over; those overtones are prominent in the use of the adjective here. Thetis supplicates Hephaestus at *Il.* 18.457–8: 'I clasp your knees in the hope that you will give arms to my son, who is fated to die young . . .'

caelestia dona: at *Il.* 19.18 the newly forged arms are called 'the god's beautiful gifts' (θεοῦ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα); cf. 19.3, 368, 21.165, 594. The phrase *caelestia dona* is used by Virgil to describe honey, gift of the gods, at *Geo.* 4.1.

290 sine pectore 'without intelligence': cf. 265n., 326, 369; Greek φρένες. This is on the face of it an extraordinary claim, since Ajax has boasted *mille meo protexi pectore puppes* (93), and in the definitive description of him in the *Iliad* he is said to be 'big and strong, standing out among the Greeks for his height and broad shoulders' (3.226–7). Ulysses has by his use of words contrived to rob Ajax of even his most basic attribute.

miles: here the word is disparaging in tone: cf. 367 *dux milite maior*. Usually in epic it is a collective singular.

291 neque enim . . . nouit: 295n.

clipei caelamina: on the etymological reference see 110n. Here *caelamina*, in the same position in the line as *caelestia* in line 289, draws attention to the link with *caelum*, 'sky'.

292–4 Homer, in a passage which provided the model for all later set-piece descriptions ('ecphrases'), gave a long and detailed account of the scenes which Hephaestus put on Achilles' shield (*Il.* 18.478–608). Ovid refers here only to encircling Ocean, which

rounds off the Homeric description (607–8), and to Homer's opening lines: 'on it he fashioned the earth and sky and sea, the untiring sun and the waxing moon, and all the constellations which adorn the heavens, the Pleiades and Hyades and mighty Orion and the Bear, also called the Wain, which revolves in the same place and keeps watch on Orion, and alone does not bathe in the waters of Ocean' (483–9). Homer goes on to describe at length two cities depicted on the shield, one in which wedding celebrations were taking place and a lawcourt was in sitting, and the other under siege and surrounded by scenes of action (490–540).

The shield description was one of the most heavily allegorised passages of Homer (Hardie (1985) 11–31). Surrounded by Ocean, the great river which encircles the earth, and containing typical scenes from human life, it clearly represents some sort of microcosm of the world: Achilles when he carries it into battle carries the world on his shoulders. (Virgil brings out this aspect more explicitly than had Homer: Aeneas' shield bears specific scenes from later Roman history, and his shouldering it is a re-enactment of his carrying his father on his shoulders from the ruins of Troy in Book 2; cf. 295n.) Because it had been a focus of attention for interpreters of Homer, and in addition because in the opening lines of his description Homer had indulged in rather more learned detail in the matter of astronomy than is his usual manner, *Il.* 18.483–9 provides an ideal opportunity for Ulysses to deride brawny Ajax' lack of brains; cf. 294n. Ulysses, it seems, is, among his other accomplishments, a Homeric commentator who is able to describe the shield in terms which would later be borrowed by Homer himself.

292 In this line Ovid combines five elements of the Homeric description (see 292–4n.). He substitutes Ocean, from the conclusion of the Homeric ecphrasis (607–8), for the sea, reflecting perhaps a more modern view of the world which does not distinguish between Ocean and sea, and he adds earth, heaven and stars from *Il.* 18.483 and 485. The effect is reminiscent of 1.5, where Ovid describes the beginning of things when all was without form and void: *ante mare et terras et, quod tegit omnia, caelum* ... The allusion is surprising, since the creative work of Hephaestus is described by Homer in a way that invites comparison with the activity of a creator god at the beginning of the world. It is perhaps therefore no coincidence that Ovid

has just described Ajax in terms reminiscent of those which he used for Chaos in the same passage in Book 1: *rudis et sine pectore miles* (13.290) ~ *rudis indigestaque moles* (1.7): it is as if Ajax is associated with primal confusion and chaos, Ulysses with the intelligent artificer who dispenses order and reason.

293 This line combines the first half of *Il.* 18.486, Πληϊάδας θ' Ὑάδας τε, with the Homeric reference to Arctus (487) and its avoidance of the waters of Ocean (489); *immunem* translates ἄμμορος, 'not sharing in'. As in the previous line, Ovid has slightly telescoped Homer's description.

Pleïadasque: seven daughters of Atlas and Pleione, the Pleiads were, according to one account, chased through Boeotia for many years by Orion, until eventually the fruitless pursuit was fixed in the stars: Hyg. *Astr.* 2.21, schol. on Ap. Rh. 3.226; further Frazer (1921) on Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.1. They are located in the constellation Taurus.

Hyadas: this star-cluster lies between the Pleiades and Orion. Many different myths accounted for their existence, the most common being that they were nymphs translated to the stars as reward for having nursed the infant Dionysus (Hyg. *Astr.* 2.21 = Pherecydes, *FGH* 3 F 90(d), Asclepiades of Tragilus, *FGH* 12 F 18). Some made them sisters of the Pleiads.

immunemque aequoris Arcton: cf. 726–7 *ad Arctos | aequoris expertes*. A version of the story of Callisto, daughter of Lycaon and hunting companion of Diana, is told by Ovid at 2.409–507: raped by Jupiter, she is punished for bearing his bastard child by Juno, who turns her into a bear; Jupiter subsequently translates her to the stars. *arktos* is the Greek for 'bear'; Ursa Major is the Latin name. The constellation is near the pole-star; it is colloquially known in Britain as the Wain, Charles's Wain, or the Plough (292–4n.). The reason that it never takes a bath (never sets below the horizon) is, according to Ovid's version of the story, because Callisto's shame was revealed when she was made to bathe naked with Diana (2.458–65, 527–30).

294 diuersosque orbes: the *orbis solis* and the *orbis lunae* depicted on the Iliadic shield (*Il.* 18.484; 292–4n.; *OLD* s.v. *orbis* 6). The phrase is more allusive than the rest of the description, and requires a mind keener than that of Ajax to interpret it. As a result a reader with more learning than penetration emended to *diuersas* ...

urbes, which would refer to the two cities on Achilles' shield (292–4n.); that reading is found in several MSS. But even an Ajax could recognise cities, which would in any case be oddly placed between Arctos and Orion. On mistakenly clever conjectures see Tarrant (1989).

diuersosque: they are remote from each other, in that one appears by day and the other by night.

nitidumque Orionis ensem: Orion has two particularly bright lines of stars, which are commonly taken to be his belt and sword. The sword is not mentioned in the Homeric passage, but is often referred to in poetic and astronomical texts (Aratus 588, *al.*; *Met.* 8.207 ends *strictumque Orionis ensem*, and he is called *ensiger* at *Ars* 2.56 and *Fasti* 4.388). See n. on 293 *Pleïadas* for one account of the catasterism of the hunter Orion. Many variants were current; they are discussed in Fontenrose (1981).

At *Il.* 18.486 the name of Orion is placed at the end of the line, forming a spondaic fifth foot (*Ōrīōnos*). Here and elsewhere in the *Met.* (8.207, 13.692) Ovid avoids the spondee by making the third vowel short. This form seems not to be found in Greek, which does have other variants (*Ōărĭōn, Ōrĭōn*).

295 The notes to lines 292–4 have given a very small sample of the allegorical, astronomical, mythological and meteorological lore which had arisen around the Homeric Shield of Achilles and the elements and scenes depicted on it. Ulysses frames his brief description of the shield with references to Ajax' inability to comprehend it (291 *neque enim ... nouit*, 295 *quae non intellegit*). In other words (since the shield is a microcosm of the world), Ajax lacks understanding of the world: he is not only unlearned, but also uncomprehending. There is an allusion here, difficult to interpret, to *Aen.* 8.729–31, where Aeneas shoulders the shield which bears upon it scenes from the future history of Rome: *talia per clipeum Vulcani, dona parentis, | miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet | attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.* Aeneas is *ignarus* in part because he does not have the means to identify the as yet unborn figures whom he sees represented; but there is also present the irony that he cannot fully appreciate the weight of future hopes which he bears at this critical moment. One can construct both positive and negative interpretations of Ovid's implicit comparison between Aeneas and Ajax. Positive: Aeneas had ample excuse for his ignorance, but Ajax by contrast is simply stu-

pid. Negative: Ajax and Aeneas are equally ignorant, and Ulysses is superior to both. In view of these thematically important points, it seems unlikely that Bentley was right in wishing to delete the line.

capiat: there is probably word-play here with *intellegit*, since *capio* is sometimes used of understanding (*OLD* s.v. 29a – with or without *animo*).

296–305 Ulysses defends himself against the charge of having tried to avoid serving in the Trojan expedition (35–40). He argues that Achilles did the same, and recurs to the theme of Ajax' stupidity: Ulysses detected Achilles, but it was beyond Ajax to detect Ulysses. Even here, in this less than heroic episode, Ulysses contrives to associate himself with Achilles and to imply that he is therefore the natural heir for his arms.

296 Quid quod: 223n.

munera belli: perhaps a phrase from archaic poetry: cf. Lucr. 1.32 *belli fera munera.*

298 If Ajax had more intelligence and more delicacy, he would have realised that his argument constituted a slight on his departed comrade.

magnanimo: Homer speaks of Achilles' 'great/proud heart/mind' at *Il.* 9.184 (μεγάλας φρένας Αἰακίδαο).

299 uocas: he turns to Ajax as Ajax turned to him (33n.).

simulauimus ambo: Achilles was disguised as a girl on Scyros (162–80n.); Ulysses pretended to be mad (34–42n.).

300 pro culpa 'is to be counted a crime'.

ego sum maturior illo: i.e. Achilles' behaviour was (even) more reprehensible than my own, since he resorted to trickery earlier than I did.

301 An outrageous parallel: Thetis wished to prevent her son from going to war because she knew that if he did so he would die young; Penelope had no such excuse to detain her husband, and in any case no version of the myth makes reference to her having a role in the proceedings: it was Ulysses who knew of the oracle, and Ulysses who devised the trick of feigning madness (34–42n.). There is probably an allusion here to Ulysses' later adventures with Circe and Calypso, divine females by whom he was detained for one year and seven years respectively (*Od.* 10.467, 7.259): cf. e.g. *Od.* 1.55, where

Calypso is said to 'detain' (κατερύκει) Odysseus against his will. It is Ulysses' fate, it seems, to be held back by women.

The line is chiastically arranged, with *me* first word corresponding to *Achillem* at the end, and *pia* ... *coniunx* before the caesura paralleled by *pia mater* after it. Who would seriously question such tenderly misplaced motives?

303 si iam nequeam: subjunctive because the sense is concessive, 'if [for the sake of the argument] I cannot'.

defendere 'rebut': cf. 310.

304 cum tanto commune uiro: comparable is the argument of Ajax that Ulysses ought to feel privileged even to have contended with him for the arms: *cum uictus erit, mecum certasse feretur* (20).

305 at non Aiacis Vlixes: i.e. *at non* [*deprensus*] *Aiacis* [*ingenio*] *Vlixes.*

306–12 Continuing the theme of Ajax' folly in uttering criticisms which imply equal culpability on the part of others, Ulysses next defends himself against the accusation of having procured a guilty verdict over Palamedes on a trumped-up charge (56–60): in saying that, Ajax is criticising also the judges who heard the case – who are of course the same *proceres* (370, 382) who are adjudicating now.

306–7 in me . . . uobis quoque: emphasised: 'you need not be surprised that he slanders me – you too are the objects of his shaming accusations'.

308–9 A hypothetical question: Ulysses is not admitting that the charge was a false one, but asking whether it is possible that there should be one rule for himself who brought the charge and another for the judges who delivered the guilty verdict.

turpe est | . . . decorum: the chiastically arranged climax to this part of the argument has the order adjective–infinitive–pronoun–pronoun–infinitive–adjective, with the contrasted adjectives at line-end. Cf. 9.5–6 *nec tam | turpe fuit uinci quam contendisse decorum est.*

310 Naupliades: 38n.

defendere: 303n.

310–12 Again the contrast between words and deeds: the Greeks did not need to rely on the accusations of Ulysses, since they had material evidence (the gold buried in Palamedes' tent: 38n.). But we know that this is an example of the least scrupulous aspects of

Ulysses' famous ingenuity: he engineered not only the speech of prosecution, but also the material evidence. Here his 'actions' speak louder than his words.

311 audistis: sc. *tantum.* They not only, or chiefly, heard the charge: they saw the evidence.

312 pretioque obiecta patebant 'and the charges against him were clear for all to see from the bribe' (i.e. the gold 'planted' by Ulysses): *OLD* s.v. *obiectum* 1, with *pretio* causal ablative. *patebant,* after *patens* (311), emphasises by repetition the irrefutable nature of the evidence. *obiecta* proves false the charges (308 *obicit*) made by Ajax. This interpretation seems more likely than the alternative of taking *obiecta* as a participle with *crimina* ('lay clearly revealed by the bribe' (Miller)). Bentley's conjecture *praesto* ('on the spot', 'in front of your eyes') instead of *pretio* is attractive: it makes the expression more intelligible and fits the emphasis on sight (311 *patens,* 312 *uidistis, patebant*).

313–38 Ulysses turns next to the charge that he abandoned Philoctetes on Lemnos (45–54, with nn. *ad loc.*). He continues his tactic of implicating others (299–300, 306–9) by reminding the *proceres* that, although the advice was his, the decision was theirs. He goes on to offer his services as envoy to Philoctetes, even though the hatred which Philoctetes bears him will make the mission a particularly delicate one. Here Ovid uses a technique familiar from the *Heroides*: Ulysses is made to speak in an almost prophetic way, as Ovid relies on his readers' knowledge of the denouement of the story. In this case we are to think of Sophocles' tragedy *Philoctetes,* which sets out events roughly as Ulysses foresees here.

313 Poeantiaden . . . habet . . . Lemnos: these words echo the opening of Ajax' accusation, *non te, Poeantia proles,* | . . . *Lemnos* . . . *haberet* (45–6). On *Poeantiades* see 45n.

Vulcania Lemnos: another high epic line-ending with the appearance of a Homeric 'formula': cf. 2, 22, 193–4, 288, 449nn. Lemnos, a large island in the northern Aegean, has traces of volcanic activity, and was said in ancient times to have had a cult centre of Hephaestus and to have been the site of his forge. According to Homer, Hephaestus once fell to earth there when cast out of heaven by Zeus (*Il.* 1.590–4).

316 se subtraheret and *paruit* in line 318 imply that Philoctetes

stayed voluntarily on Lemnos; but *factum* ... *uestrum* and *consensistis* (314–15) presuppose the usual version of the myth, namely that Ulysses persuaded the Greeks to leave him there. In Sophocles' *Philoctetes* the hero bitterly describes how he was 'impiously abandoned' (257) and 'shamefully deserted' (265) by Agamemnon, Menelaus and Ulysses; cf. 317n.

317 feros requie lenire dolores: in fact, as we know from Sophocles, Philoctetes suffered terrible privations as a result of his abandonment. These words are probably a deliberate perversion of the facts as recounted by Philoctetes at lines 271–5 of the play: as he rested during a brief respite from his agony, the Greeks took advantage of his sleep to set sail, leaving him with only a little food and clothing.

feros: in part because he has been bitten by a wild creature (Soph. *Phil.* 266–7 'struck by the fierce (ἀγρίωι) bite of the murderous snake'); also because his sufferings have made him wild (ibid. 1321, Neoptolemus to Philoctetes, 'you have become wild (ἠγρίωσαι)). Cf. 322n.

318 sententia 'advice'. Throughout the passage Ulysses describes the council of leaders in terms equally applicable to the Roman senate (314 joint responsibility for action; 315 *suasisse*); *sententia* is the technical term for an opinion officially sought from a senator (*OLD* s.v. 3).

318–19 non ... fidelem 'this advice was not only sincere, but also lucky [for him] – though it is enough to be sincere': the advice was well meant, and did result in Philoctetes surviving: it was lucky for him (318 *paruit et uiuit*) and for the Greeks, because he is to play a part in the fall of Troy. *fida* implies also that Ulysses was 'loyal' to the interests of the other Greeks. The claim to sincerity or trustworthiness is brazen, given his earlier recounting of missions where deception was essential.

319 fida ... fidelem: another prosodic preciosity, exploiting the long-vowel (*fīda*) and short-vowel (*fĭdelem*) variants of the verbal stem: cf. 100, 764nn. Ovid uses the same word-play at *Tr.* 1.5.63 *fidamque manum sociosque fideles*.

320 See 45–54n.

uates: Calchas and Helenus: 99n., Soph. *Phil.* 604–19.

321–3 Heavily ironical.

321 ne mandate mihi: sc. the task of going to fetch him.

322 eloquio scornfully casts back upon Ajax his own scornful dismissal of Ulysses' powers of rhetoric at line 63 (*licet eloquio fidum quoque Nestora uincat* . . .).

morbis iraque furentem: in Sophocles' play Philoctetes is depicted as *furens* in two senses: the pain of his wound drives him at intervals to utter inarticulate cries, and his hatred of Odysseus shows itself in angry speeches and stubborn behaviour (cf. 317n.). There is perhaps a reference here to the future madness of Ajax: he can calm neither others nor himself.

323 aliqua producet callidus arte 'win him over with some trick' (*OLD* s.vv. *perduco* 3, *ars* 3a). In the *Philoctetes* Odysseus persuades Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, to ingratiate himself with Philoctetes and steal the bow while he is asleep; but the young man, overcome by shame, hands it back, and matters are resolved only by an epiphany of Heracles, former owner of the bow, who instructs Philoctetes to go to Troy. According to Apollodorus, perhaps basing his account on the *Little Iliad*, 'Ulysses . . . having by craft (δόλωι) got possession of the bow and arrows . . . persuaded him to sail to Troy' (*Epit.* 5.8, tr. Frazer (1921)). That version of events better suits the twin strategy outlined here of deceiving and mollifying Philoctetes; but the words *callidus arte* may be an allusion to the opening words of the *Philoctetes*, spoken by Ulysses, in which he refers to his plans as a *sophisma*, 'clever scheme' (cf. 77 σοφισθῆναι).

324–5 A so-called *adynaton*, a list of events of a paradoxical nature which speakers claim will come to pass before they will (e.g.) change their mind or their behaviour. Ovid uses the device often. Such *adynata* involve a reversal of the natural order of things; here two of Ulysses' impossibilities are of that kind, but all three are linked to the present circumstances.

324 Simoïs: a river near Troy, mentioned several times by Homer but much less often than Scamander/Xanthus, who calls the river-god Simois 'brother' at *Il.* 21.308.

Ide: a mountain past which the Simois flowed (*Il.* 4.475). Its woods were its chief characteristic: *Il.* 21.449, *al.*

325 Achaïa: Greece; cf. 29n. Propertius is the first poet to scan the word in this way as a quadrisyllable (2.28.53); Greek poets used *Achaiïs, -idos*.

326 cessante meo ... pectore: the ablative absolute stands instead of a finite clause: 'before my intelligent efforts should flag and ...' On *pectus* = 'intelligence' see 290n.; for the phrasing cf. 265 *pectora semper ... uestris exercita rebus.*

327 Aiacis stolidi ... sollertia: a literal oxymoron. For the adjective cf. 306 *stolidae conuicia ... linguae*, 290.

prosit 'could be of use': potential subjunctive.

328–38 A long and elaborately structured sentence. The first half consists of concessive clauses of $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ lines, each introduced by *licet*, of which the second contains two subjunctive clauses, the second of these in turn governing two infinitives; to them is appended (if line 332 is genuine) an *ut*-clause. The second half of the sentence builds to a climax with four lines beginning *tam ... quam ... quam ... quam*, the final element of which is again longer than those preceding (*quam ... mediis*). This breathless catalogue outdoes Ajax' five-line apostrophe to Philoctetes at lines 45–9, and is concluded with the contrastingly brief and pithy *et se mihi comparat Aiax?* (338), triumphantly rebutting Ajax' *et mecum confertur Vlixes?* (6). Ulysses will use a similar lengthy sentence as conclusion to his whole speech (375–81).

328 sociis: i.e. the judges who are listening to Ulysses' address.

regique: Agamemnon, who approved the plan of Ulysses to abandon Philoctetes.

329 dure: he is 'hard' on Ulysses, whom he hates; but he is also 'much-enduring' (*OLD* s.v. 3).

Philoctētē: the Greek form of the vocative.

329–30 exsecrere meumque | deuoueas sine fine caput: *caput*, 'head', i.e. 'life' (*OLD* s.v. 4b), is object of both verbs; see 270n. on the placing of *-que*. In Sophocles' play Philoctetes rails repeatedly against Odysseus (e.g. 314–16, 1019, 1035–6, 1040–4). The calling down of curses on an enemy was a common ancient practice. It could be carried out verbally (formally in the Roman senate) or in writing, as many surviving curse-tablets attest. Ovid's *Ibis* is a grotesquely long and learned specimen of the genre of curse poetry. See in general Watson (1991).

331 nostrumque haurire cruorem 'shed my blood' (*OLD* s.v. *haurio* 2). The Sophoclean Philoctetes does not express himself with such savagery, but this desire for bloody revenge is familiar from the

Iliad: at 24.212–14, for example, Hecuba in her grief for Hector wishes that she could eat Achilles' liver (see p. 25); cf. 22.346–7 (Achilles to Hector), 4.34–6 (implacable Hera).

332 This line is probably an interpolation; cf. 3.391. Although in itself it can be made to yield sense ('that, as I had power over you, you may have power over me'), it takes away from the climax generated by line 331, and it cannot be integrated syntactically with what precedes: *ut* must be parallel to *sic*, but it looks as if it introduces a further wish after *cupias*. The alternative reading *sit* (*utque tui mihi sit, fiat* . . .) does little to help this problem.

333 This line, too, has been suspected by critics, but *tamque* in 334 presupposes a similar line. Its second half is variously attested in the MSS (see apparatus criticus); Heinsius thought that Ovid left it uncompleted, and that later readers filled it out. *mecumque reducere nitar* does, however, make reasonable sense.

334–7 tamque . . . quam 'as surely . . . as'.

334 faueat fortuna 'if fortune will only favour me' – parenthetically expressed, like 'God willing'.

335–8 Ulysses claims sole credit for these achievements, but most accounts make them joint enterprises with Diomedes. See 99, 105–6nn., 350–1.

335 Dardanio . . . uate: cf. 320.

336 responsa deum 'the oracles of the gods' as revealed through Helenus. *deum* is an archaic/epic form of *deorum*.

337 signum penetrale: the Palladium stood in the innermost sanctuary of the Trojan temple of Athena (Minerva); a chamber of this type was called *abaton* or *adyton* in Greek, *adytum* or *penetrale* (noun) in Latin. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.297 *aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem.*

rapui: cf. 345 *eripere aede deam*. Ulysses' list of useful deeds ends with the theft (no bones made about that) of a sacred object from the most holy area of a temple. That is part of the myth; but *rapui* and *penetrale* characterise Ulysses as unscrupulous.

338 et se mihi comparat Aiax? caps line 6: 328–38n.

339–49 These lines continue the subject of the Palladium and its daring theft. Exploiting the fact that the myth had himself (and Diomedes) carry out the mission, Ulysses asserts that Ajax was afraid to perform it. For this there is of course no evidence in any other

account. Ulysses goes on to use once more the tactic of claiming for himself the credit for actions made possible by an action of his own (cf. 181–204n.): he conquered Troy because it was he who made it no longer impregnable.

339 Nempe: 177–8n.

340 fortis ubi est Aiax?: these words counter the taunt of Ajax at line 92 *ubi nunc facundus Vlixes?*

340–1 ingentia magni | uerba uiri: Ajax' huge bulk and braggadocio are contrasted with his allegedly small courage, and Ulysses turns upon him the charge of being a man of words, not deeds. Homer often calls Ajax 'big', 'huge', 'mighty', etc.

341 hic 'now', 'at this point'.

342 The details are probably taken from the Homeric account of the Dolon episode in Book 10 of the *Iliad* (98n.).

343 moenia Troum: Ulysses will use this phrase again at line 375.

344 summas arces: the acropolis or citadel of Troy. See 337n.

345 eripere ... raptamque: in repetitions of this type the prefix is usually omitted in the second element: cf. 14.44 *conterit* ... *tritis*.

346 Telamone creatus: 22n. Here the expression probably introduces the irony of the following line: Ajax' impeccable fighting pedigree would have availed nothing.

347 On the oxhide shield of Ajax see 2n. Here it is described with a touch of grotesquerie which emphasises the impotence of brute force without intelligence: Ajax could 'wield seven oxhides with his left arm' (cf. 340–1 *ingentia magni* | *uerba uiri*, with n.). The line has the maximum possible number of spondees, perhaps to reinforce the notion of ponderousness.

348 mihi 'by me': dative of the agent.

Troiae 'over Troy': objective genitive.

350–69 At this point we are to imagine Ajax drawing attention to the fact that Diomedes accompanied Ulysses on his dangerous mission to Troy – a point already raised by him in his own speech (100–2). Ulysses replies that Ajax was part of a host of fighters defending the ships, while he on his missions had only Diomedes for company. He adds that Diomedes, like the other Greek champions, is not competing for the arms: he has the wit to understand that brains are

superior to brawn (354). Here Ulysses comes back once more to his chief claim to superiority (cf. pp. 245–6, 286–7, 292–4nn.).

350 Desine: addressed to Ajax, who is to be imagined as pointing out to Ulysses that it was in fact Diomedes who carried out the deeds claimed by Ulysses as his own.

Tydiden: 68n.

uultuque: some manuscripts have *nutuque*; but *uultus* can mean the line of one's gaze (*OLD* s.v. 3a): cf. 10.601 *uultu . . . in uirgine fixo*.

351 ostentare 'point out': *OLD* s.v. 5b.

meum 'my friend' Diomedes.

pars est sua laudis in illo 'he has his share of praise' – i.e. 'far be it from me to deny the help of such a friend'.

352 nec probably emphasises *solus*: 'and let me remind you that you were not alone . . .'

353 tibi turba comes: this is a specious argument. The rest of the Greeks were involved in the struggle to keep the Trojans at bay, but Homer explicitly states that 'great-hearted Ajax was not content to stand in the place to which the other sons of the Achaeans had fallen back: he ranged over the decks of the ships . . .' (*Il.* 15.674–6); his subsequent fight with Hector is described as a sort of duel.

unus: sc. *comes*, i.e. Diomedes.

354–61 Ulysses argues that other heroes were more sensible than Ajax in not competing with himself for the arms. This is language similar to that of the narrator at 12.622–5, where the Judgement of Arms is introduced with the statement that various of the heroes did not 'dare' to put themselves forward: *non ea Tydides, non audet Oileos Aiax, | non minor Atrides, non bello maior et aeuo | poscere, non alii: soli Telamone creato | Laertiadaeque* [?] *fuit tantae fiducia laudis*.

354 sapiente: when words in *-ans* and *-ens* are used as nouns or adjectives, the ablative singular is usually in *-ī*; but poets commonly use the participial ending *-ĕ* when it is metrically convenient.

355 indomitae: the reference is to line 90, where Ajax claims *non sum superatus ab illo*. The following list of heroes who have not claimed the arms is of those who volunteered to fight Hector at *Il.* 7.161–9 – a witty transference.

356 ipse quoque haec peteret: Ulysses cleverly turns to his own account the fact that Diomedes shared in many of his achievements by pointing out that Diomedes did not put himself forward as competitor for the arms.

moderatior Aiax: Ajax son of Oileus, who in the *Iliad* is often paired with the more famous son of Telamon in the word Αἴαντε, 'Ajaxes'. At *Il.* 2.528 he is described as 'lesser, not as big as Telamonian Ajax', and it is to the epithet 'lesser' that *moderatior* alludes. The word is used in preference to the more obvious *minor* (1) because *minor* would have conceded the complimentary *maior* to Ajax (Huyck), and (2) in order to hint that the son of Oileus was more 'modest' in not claiming the arms.

357 Eurypylusque ferox: a Thessalian leader (*Il.* 2.734–7).

claroque Andraemone natus: Thoas, an Aetolian leader, whom Homer calls 'son of Andraemon' when he volunteers to fight Hector (*Il.* 7.168), and elsewhere. Ovid mentions a different Thoas at line 399.

358–9 Idomeneus patriaque creatus eadem | Meriones: in the Homeric passage Meriones is called 'companion of Idomeneus, matchless in man-slaying war' (*Il.* 7.166). Idomeneus himself is a Cretan leader (*Il.* 2.645).

creatus: cf. 22, 346 *Telamone creatus*.

359 maioris frater Atridae: Menelaus, brother of the 'greater son of Atreus', Agamemnon. Ulysses diplomatically omits to say that Agamemnon himself is not competing, since that would imply his own superiority to his leader; but he contrives to include a reference to him through Menelaus. Agamemnon is the only one not to be listed here of those who volunteered to fight Hector in Book 7 of the *Iliad* (82–97n. §3).

360–9 Ulysses concludes this section of his speech with a series of brain vs brawn contrasts: *manus* ~ *consilia* (360–1), *dextera* ~ *ingenium* (361–2), *uires* ~ *mens* (363), *corpus* ~ *animus* (365–6), *pectora* ~ *manus* (369). He puts a better gloss on the similar contrasts drawn by Ajax at lines 9–12.

360 sunt is placed in the second clause rather than in the first. This type of hyperbaton is common in Ovid: cf. 100, *Am.* 2.10.23 *graciles, non sunt sine uiribus artus*.

nec sunt tibi Marte secundi: an understatement, but a contentious one: Homer calls Ajax 'superior in appearance and in action to all the Greeks but Achilles' (*Il.* 17.279–80).

Marte secundi: a creative variation of the Virgilian abl. abs. line-end *Marte secundo* (*Aen.* 11.899, 12.497).

361 cessere 'yielded to'; but in this context the military sense of

cedo, 'give ground to', must be present too: they are stout fighters, but in this case they knew that it was right to give way.

362 ingenium est: *tibi* is to be understood from the previous line. As with *consiliis cessere meis* (361), there is an implied adversative: 'they are good warriors *but* they yielded ... your strength is useful *but* your mind lacks the sort of direction that mine can provide'.

364–5 pugnandi tempora mecum | eligit Atrides: Ulysses is joint planner with Agamemnon of the right time for battle: he knows the proper moment for action. There seems, however, to be no instance in the *Iliad* of Ulysses' opinion being consulted in this way.

366–7 quantoque ... officium: Antisthenes in his speech for Odysseus (p. 15) had already used the image of the steersman, though not by way of contrast with the humbler duties of the rower: 'just as steersmen keep a lookout day and night in order to keep safe the sailors, so I keep safe you [sc. Ajax] and all the others' (§8).

366 anteit: two syllables, as often in verse.

368–9 'In our bodies the mind is more powerful than the hand, and contains all our energy.' There may be an allusion to such physiological doctrines as that set out by Lucretius at 3.136–60: cf. 138–40 *sed caput esse quasi et dominari in corpore toto | consilium quod nos animum mentemque uocamus. | idque situm media regione in pectoris haeret.*

368 in corpore nostro: the meaning is presumably 'our bodies' (i.e. the human body that you and I both have), as translated above, although the long series of contrasts between 'you' and 'me' in the preceding lines leads us naturally to take *nostro* as referring to Ulysses alone (cf. 362, 366).

370–81 Ulysses' peroration. He asks that the arms be given him in return for his past services to the Greek cause, services which have made it possible for Troy to be captured (cf. 171, 349). The prayer with which his address concludes is not only a supplication: in it he refers to the likelihood of his services being needed again in the future, and implies that without his active co-operation the Trojans may yet not be defeated.

370 At uos, o proceres: a solemn address.

371 'In return for my care through so many years, during which I lived in constant anxiety', or perhaps 'took infinite pains' (*OLD* s.v. *anxius* 4). *egi* is intransitive (*OLD* s.v. *ago* 35b), and there is a play on *cura* as both '(taking) care' and 'worry'.

372 titulum 'honour'/'distinction': *OLD* s.v. 7a.

pensandum: cf. 192 *laudem ut cum sanguine penset*; here the verb is given the ablative without *cum*.

373 labor: the emphasis on Ulysses' actions in the preceding lines suggests that *meus* is to be understood here; but *nostrum* is possible, too.

obstantia fata: Troy was fated to resist attack so long as the Palladium remained within the city: see 99n.

374 'By making it possible for lofty Troy to be captured, I captured it' – an epigrammatic line. For the variation of quantity in *capi* and *cepi* see 100n.

altaque . . . Pergama: cf. 197 *altae . . . curia Troiae*.

375–80 As he reaches the end of his speech, Ulysses makes a lengthy final appeal to the judges in an emotional oath: three lines, each beginning with *per* and each having a pause at the caesura (375–7), are followed by two whole-line clauses beginning with *si* (378–9), and the transition between them is made by having the last *per*-element contain also *siquid*: line 377 forms the final element of one tricolon and the first of another. Lines 377 and 378 are linked also by homoeoteleuton (*agendum/petendum est*). The appeal ends, by contrast, with the brief *este mei memores* (380), and is followed by a final surprise (380–1), so that the direct speech ends not with the line, but after the first foot.

Ulysses' appeal contains echoes of that of the treacherous Sinon at Virg. *Aen.* 2.141–4: *quod te per superos et conscia numina ueri, | per si qua est quae restet adhuc mortalibus usquam | intemerata fides, oro*; cf. *perque deos oro* (376) . . . *per si quid superest* (377) . . . *si aliquid restare putatis* (379).

375 per spes: prayers and supplicatory addresses are often prefaced by such phrases introduced by *per*; for the link with *spes* cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.364, where Palinurus addresses to Aeneas three anaphoric *per*-phrases, of which the last is *per spes surgentis Iuli*; cf. *Aen.* 10.524. Other examples are listed by Bömer *ad loc.*

nunc is to be taken with *oro*.

376 deos: Ulysses took away only the statue of Athena; but by doing so he removed from Troy the protection of the gods.

377 per si quid: a standard introductory phrase in appeals of this type (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.142, 12.56, *al.*). The antecedent, *deos oro*, is suppressed; in meaning *si quid* here is equivalent to *quicquid*, though in line 378 it governs the verb.

quod sit sapienter agendum 'which may need to be done wisely'.

378 'If there is yet anything bold and reckless to be attempted' – Ulysses' mission to Philoctetes, for example, and his important role in the Wooden Horse episode and in the killing of Astyanax. *ex praecipiti*, a phrase which does not occur elsewhere, seems to mean 'from a desperate situation': cf. such expressions as *ex improuiso* and *OLD* s.v. *ex* 8. *in praecipiti* means 'on the brink of disaster' (*OLD* s.v. *praeceps*[2] 2b). The line is odd in several respects, and those editors are probably right who bracket it as an interpolation: (1) one expects *audax ex praecipitique* to be adverbial, parallel to *sapienter* in the preceding line, but the grammatical structure seems to require the words to go with *quid* (Kenney's conjecture *audendum* would solve this problem by supplying a clause to which *-que* can refer; for the elision cf. e.g. 550); (2) the sense of *petendum* is not clear (*OLD* s.v.7?). For *audax* cf. 196 with n.

379 'If you think something still remains for the destiny of Troy', i.e. 'if you think that Troy still has some time remaining'; but perhaps there is implicit also the sense 'if you think that there is still something left for us to do to bring about the fall of Troy'.

Many editors omit this line, too, though in sense it is less problematical than the preceding one and does not necessarily stand or fall with it. In form it is a 'leonine' hexameter, the word before the caesura rhyming with that at the end of the line. Whole poems written in leonines were popular in the Middle Ages. That is not in itself a strong reason for deletion, since such lines do occur here and there in Ovid; but the cumulative effect of *per* ... *per* ... *per* (375–7) seems more forceful without one or two conditional clauses being interposed.

380–1 If they cannot bear to give the arms to him, they should dedicate them to his patron goddess (and goddess of wisdom), who in the shape of the Palladium is moreover the visible symbol of his bravery and usefulness.

380 datis: vivid present in anticipation of the future: Gildersleeve–Lodge (1895) §228.

381 ostendit: Ulysses closes with a dramatic gesture which contrasts with that of Ajax in lines 4–5: each points to the evidence for his own merits.

signum fatale Mineruae: the Palladium (99n.). *fatale* indicates that on the statue depended the fate of Troy: cf. 373 *obstantia fata remoui* (and for the expression 337 *signum penetrale Mineruae*). Ovid has borrowed the epithet *fatale* from Virg. *Aen.* 2.165, a passage from which he borrows elsewhere (375–80n.), where Sinon deceitfully claims that, once Diomedes and Ulysses had stolen the *fatale* … *Palladium*, the gods turned against the Greek cause.

382–98 The leaders are persuaded by Ulysses; the narrator seems to imply that the decision was a bad one (383). Ajax, overcome by grief and anger, falls on his sword, and from his blood springs the hyacinth, its leaves inscribed with the first two letters of his name.

Here the denouement of the story and the metamorphosis are dealt with summarily, as is often the case in this poem (p. 2). Ajax, having made a long speech before the judges, is given only four lines for his farewell; the passage relies on readers' knowledge of the story to fill in the gaps. No mention is made of the slaughter of the flocks, and the impression is given that Ajax' suicide followed immediately after his defeat in the Judgement of Arms. These lines are a good example of how Ovid controls the pace and focus of the story, expanding some aspects of the myth at great length and passing over others perfunctorily. Cf. 558–64, 623–31, 705–18nn.

382–3 fortisque uiri tulit arma disertus: see pp. 17–18. This is the final appearance of the words–deeds contrast (cf. pp. 10, 17 n. 67, and 64, 98–122, 120–2, 211–15, 310–12, 340–1nn.). There is an echo of the conclusion of Ajax' speech, where he proposes a test of *fortitudo*: *quid uerbis opus est?* … | *arma uiri fortis medios mittantur in hostes:* | *inde iubete peti et referentem ornate relatis* (120–2). The contrast is reinforced by the words *quid facundia posset,* | *re patuit*: Ulysses' words are not merely words, but result in tangible success. His speech is the perfect illustration of his argument (360–9) that the clever person is more able to make things happen.

382 facundia: cf. 92, 127. The word is rare in poetry except in Ovid; cf. 383n. on *disertus*.

383 tulit 'carried off'.

disertus: although this is not a derogatory word, it is generally used to mean 'clever at speaking', 'an accomplished speaker': it does not have the dignity of such words as *orator* and *eloquentia*. Cf. Cic.

De orat. 1.94 *scripsi ... disertos me cognosse nonnullos, eloquentem adhuc neminem.*

384 solus 'in single combat': 82–97n. §3, 271n.

384–5 ferrum ignesque Iouemque | sustinuit: cf. 91 *ferrumque ignesque Iouemque*, with n.

385 unam non sustinet iram: both in the introduction to his speech and during it, Ajax is characterised as angry and passionate (3 *impatiens irae*, 1–5n.), but Ovid does not refer except by way of these hints (cf. 43n.) to the well known story, told in the *Little Iliad* and most famously by Sophocles in his *Ajax*, that the hero, maddened by disappointment, committed suicide in shame after he had slaughtered the Greek army's flocks and herds in the belief that he was killing Agamemnon and Menelaus. In this and the following line, *non sustinet iram* and *uicit dolor* are delicate and ambiguous allusions to the fact that madness overcame Ajax' mind. The unheroic animals are omitted, presumably because the aim of the narrative here is to build up to a tragically heroic end for the great hero.

386–92 Just as he hints at Ajax' *furor* in line 385, so here Ovid alludes to the story that Ajax was invulnerable: *inuictum* (386) could mean 'invincible' as well as 'undefeated'; line 390 could refer to the fact that he was vulnerable only to a self-inflicted wound; and *qua patuit ferro* can refer to the story that he was vulnerable only in his side. For details of this aspect of the myth, to which Homer makes no allusion but which may have derived from the *Aethiopis* or *Little Iliad*, see 267n., Davies (1989) 60–1, 65.

387 Here we need to remember Sophocles' *Ajax*: three times in that play we are told that the sword with which Ajax commits suicide is that which he was given by Hector (661–2, 817, 1029–39). The gift was Hector's part of an exchange by which the combatants acknowledged their mutual respect at the end of their duel (*Il.* 7.303–5; 82–97n. §3). Here therefore Ajax means that his virtues have been recognised by the gift of the sword, and that it at any rate Ulysses dare not claim.

388 hoc: ablative, governed by *utendum*.

390 Ajax, the self-proclaimed unpolished speaker, ends his life with a paradoxical *sententia* typical of the rhetorical schools; cf. pp. 18–20 and 503–5n. He bitterly acknowledges that he cannot bear to

be 'defeated' by anyone but himself. If he commits suicide, no one will ever have overcome him in fair fight.

391 tum demum uulnera passum: 266–7n.

392 letalem condidit ensem: perhaps an allusion to a famous passage of the *Ajax*, where the hero, who is about to commit suicide but wishes not to state his intention openly, says 'I shall go and find a lonely place and there hide (κρύψω) this sword of mine, most hateful of weapons (ἔχθιστον βελῶν)' (657–8).

393 Ajax made a wound so deep that he had not the strength to pull out his sword (an act which speeds death: *Il.* 13.573–5, 16.502–5). This seems a more pointed idea than the alternative of taking *manus* to refer to bystanders.

telum: though it properly means a javelin, *telum* can be used of any sharp weapon: *OLD* s.v. 3a.

394 expulit ipse cruor: a bloody purple rain fertilises the earth and brings forth the purple flower. Elsewhere in the poem Ovid describes similar gruesome phenomena: at 4.118–27 when Pyramus falls on his sword the blood spurts from the wound like water from a punctured pipe, and empurples the mulberry. The deaths of Alphenor and Damasichthon, sons of Niobe, are described in similar terms: 'while he tried to pull out the fatal arrow with his hand, another pierced his throat up to the feathers; the blood expelled it, spurted out in a jet, and bored through the air in a long arc' (6.253–60; cf. 250–3).

394–6 Two aetiologies were current for the AIAI marking on the hyacinth. In Book 10 Ovid tells the story of the youth Hyacinthus, a favourite of Apollo, who was killed accidentally by a discus thrown by the god; his blood was metamorphosed into the plant, and Apollo caused the sound of his own lamentation, AIAI, to be inscribed on its petals (10.162–219). Here, in order to include that other version of the aetiology, Ovid implies that this is not the first hyacinth, but that the letters which already existed on its petals were henceforth the common property of both Hyacinthus and Ajax (397 *littera communis*). The two accounts are made to allude to each other, both explicitly and through verbal repetition: line 396 refers to Hyacinthus (and *prius*, 'formerly', can be taken to refer also to a point earlier in the poem), and 10.207–8 refer to Ajax (*tempus et illud erit, quo se fortissimus*

heros | addat in hunc florem folioque legatur eodem); in line 395 *genuit de caespite florem* echoes 10.166 *in caespite flores*, and in lines 397–8 *littera ... | inscripta est foliis* echoes 10.215–16 *gemitus foliis inscribit, et AIAI | flos habet inscriptum, funestaque littera dicta est.*

The Hellenistic poets Euphorion, Bion and Nicander all wrote works entitled *Hyacinthus*, and Nicander may in addition have included the story in his *Heteroeumena* (p. 1). Euphorion is the earliest known writer to link the plant with Ajax' suicide, but it is quite possible that the story goes back to some local historian earlier than the third century BC.

Ovid does not mention the plant by name. In Latin it is generally called *uaccinium.* Botanists continue to differ over which plant is meant by *hyacinthus*/ὑάκινθος (see Gow on Theoc. 10.28); there is no obvious candidate, and it is probable that more than one plant was called by that name. For the story of Ajax' suicide by swordthrust it would be appropriate if, as some believe on other grounds, the cornflag, *Gladiolus segetum* (Greek *xiphion*, *phasganon*) is intended: its Greek and Latin names allude to the swordlike shape of its leaves.

The Greek form of Ajax' name is Αἴας (*Aiās*), and the reason for the Latin ending in *-x* is uncertain. One rather speculative suggestion is that the Greek folk-etymology from *aiai*, 'alas', prompted a link with Latin *aio*, 'speak', and that *-ax* arose by analogy with *loquax* (*Aiax* : *aio* :: *loquax* : *loquor*). Thus Leumann (1977) §329.2(a).

396 Oebalio 'Spartan'. Oebalus was a king of Sparta. According to some accounts he was father of Hyacinthus, but Ovid seems to make the young man son of Amyclas (10.162).

397 littera 'inscription'.

communis governs *pueroque uiroque.*

398 foliis 'petals' (cf. 789, *OLD* s.v. 3) rather than 'leaves': in a discussion of flowers suitable for chaplets Pliny states that the hyacinth is marked *discurrentibus uenis ut Graecarum litterarum figura AI legatur inscriptum* (*Nat.* 21.66).

haec nominis, illa querelae 'this inscription being one of a name, and the former being one of a lament'.

nominis: the inscription AIAI is a repetition of the first two letters of Ajax' name. A fragment of the *Hyacinthus* of Euphorion (394–6n.) makes the inscription a lament in the case of Ajax, too (fr. 40.3, *CA* p. 38). In fact both explanations are possible: the Sopho-

clean Ajax says 'Alas (*aiai*)! Who could have foreseen that my name, formed from that sound of woe, would match my woeful fate? For now I may well cry woe (*aiazein*) again and again' (430–2).

399–428 These transitional lines move rapidly through the events subsequent to Ulysses' victory; the details were familiar to Ovid's readers from the *Odyssey*, the *Aeneid* and Greek tragedy. Some well known aspects of the story, such as the Wooden Horse, are not mentioned; Ovid calls up the most violent moments (the slaughter of Priam, the rape of Cassandra, the murder of Astyanax) in order to set the tone for the next long and bloody episode, the sacrifice of Polyxena.

399–400 Ulysses sets out for the island of Lemnos to fetch Philoctetes (45–54n.). The island, which has already been named at lines 46 and 313, is given an epicising periphrasis which – though Hypsipyle is far in the past – contributes an atmosphere of additional danger to Ulysses' mission. The events which are alluded to are outlined by Apollodorus: 'The Argonauts landed at Lemnos. The island happened at that time to be without men and ruled over by Hypsipyle, daughter of Thoas, for the following reason. The women of Lemnos did not honour Aphrodite [Venus], and she afflicted them with a foul smell, so that their husbands procured captive women from the neighbouring area of Thrace and took them to their beds. The Lemnian women, feeling this as a dishonour, murdered their fathers and husbands; Hypsipyle, who saved her father Thoas by hiding him, was the sole exception. The Argonauts, landing at Lemnos ruled in this way by the women, had intercourse with them. Hypsipyle slept with Jason and gave birth to Euenus and Nebrophonus' (*Bibl.* 1.9.17). These events were very well known to Ovid's audience: Aeschylus' *Hypsipyle* and *Lemnians*, Sophocles' *Lemnian women*, and several Greek comedies, had treated the subject, and there is a lengthy scene on the Lemnos of Hypsipyle in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (1.609–909); cf. Val. Fl. *Arg.* 2.77–427. The sixth of Ovid's *Heroides* is a letter from Hypsipyle to Jason. Although these events had happened long before (400 *ueterum*), and did not have any direct bearing on Philoctetes, his plight, or his rescue, they serve to set the scene for the last stages of the Trojan War.

399 Victor: Ulysses, picking up the theme of lines 386 *inuictumque uirum uicit dolor* and 390 *Aiacem . . . superare.*

Thoantis: different from Thoas son of Andraemon mentioned in line 357.

400 infames caede uirorum: 'Lemnian evils' (Λήμνια κακά) was a proverbial Greek phrase for deeds of particular horror or cruelty (Hdt. 6.138.4).

401 Tirynthia 'belonging to Hercules', who was born at Tiryns near Argos. See 51–2n. The adjective is not a standard epithet of Hercules in Greek poetry, and in Latin it seems to have been applied to him first by Virgil in the *Aeneid* (7.662, 8.228). Ovid uses it several times (7.410, 9.268, *Fasti* 2.305).

401–2 sagittas | ... reuexit: cf. 333–4 *reducere nitar* | ... *potiar* ... *sagittis*.

402 domino comitante: at Soph. *Phil.* 262 Philoctetes identifies himself to Neoptolemus as 'master of the weapons of Heracles' (τῶν Ἡρακλείων ὄντα δεσπότην ὅπλων). On the syntactical subordination of Philoctetes to his bow see 51–2n.

403 sero seems to mean 'long drawn out', or possibly 'late begun', with reference to the ten-year preliminaries; *tandem* and *ultima* continue the emphasis on length of time. But these meanings for *serus* are unique, and *longo* could equally well have been used. Some manuscripts have *saeuo*, which is less difficult but also less appropriate in this context. A third reading, *imposita estque fero*, makes the sentence too complicated.

404–7 Although these lines contain some choice vocabulary (406) and metrical effects (407 spondaic fifth foot), they certainly do not belong here: the anticipatory mention of Priam, whose fate is told again in line 409, is clumsy and pointless. Possibly they are an alternative draft; but it is more likely that they are an illustrative supplement quoted in the margin by a learned reader and subsequently incorporated into the text: cf. 294, 683–4, 724, 865nn.

404 Priameïa coniunx: cf. 513.

405 post omnia: she has lost everything, and finally even her human shape. The expression is odd.

406 Cf. 7.362 *Maera nouo latratu terruit agros*. Some MSS have *agros* here, but for *terruit auras* cf. *Fasti* 1.567 *fragor aethera terruit ipsum*. For *nouus* of a newly changed state cf. 894 *incinctus iuuenis flexis noua cornua cannis*.

407 in angustum ... clauditur 'is shut up into a narrow strait' (Haydon).

408 neque adhuc considerat ignis: these words, which form the beginning of a passage heavily allusive to the *Aeneid*, echo Aeneas' description of the ruins of Troy at *Aen.* 2.624–5 *tum uero omne mihi uisum considere in ignis | Ilium.* Just before their departure the Greeks set fire to the city in order to destroy it utterly.

409–10 The death of Priam, the old king of Troy, was narrated in the Cyclic *Little Iliad* and *Sack of Troy*, but for Ovid's audience the best-known account was that of Virgil's Aeneas at *Aen.* 2.506–58: Priam arms himself and joins his wife Hecuba and their daughters in the household sanctuary; his last remaining son is killed before his eyes by Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus); the old man ineffectually attacks Pyrrhus, who drags him to the altar and kills him over the body of his son.

409 exiguum: the old man did not have much blood in him.

Iouis ara: Virgil refers only to unspecified *arae* (501), *penates* (514) and *altaria* (515, 550), but many accounts followed the *Sack of Troy* in referring to the altar of Zeus Herceus, that is Zeus (Jupiter) in his role as protector of the household.

410–11 These lines, on the brutal treatment of Apollo's prophetess Cassandra, daughter of Priam, are an allusion to Virg. *Aen.* 2.403–6 *ecce trahebatur passis Priameïa uirgo | crinibus a templo Cassandra adytisque Mineruae | ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra, | lumina, nam teneras arcebant uincula palmas*; Ovid has taken over the Virgilian detail of the hair but has made it the instrument of her dragging, and has 'corrected' Virgil in making her hands free. Neither poet names the perpetrator of this barbarous act, who was well known from the Epic Cycle to have been Ajax son of Oileus (356n.); and neither explicitly mentions that she was raped by him in the very temple of Minerva. The rape is a detail which may be later than the Epic Cycle: see Davies (1989) 75–6.

410 raptata: cf. 12.223 *raptaturque comis per uim noua nupta prehensis. raptata*, 'dragged away', is a conjecture of Heinsius. Perhaps owing to a scribe's reminiscence of the Virgilian *trahebatur passis … crinibus* (410–11n.), the MSS have various forms of *traho* or *tracto*, but none seems satisfactory: (1) *tractata* is preferred by some editors; but in classical Latin *tracto* is never elsewhere used to mean 'drag' (*OLD* s.v. 1), and there seems to be no good reason why Ovid should have introduced an archaism here (the phrase *coma tractate* is recorded

from the early dramatic writer Pacuvius (18–19 W = 350–1 R[3]); but if there is any literary allusion here, it is surely to Virgil). (2) Other MSS have *tracta atque*, which avoids the archaism, but only at the cost of having *atque* second word in its clause, a licence used only once elsewhere by Ovid (*Ars* 3.282, where *atque* may be corrupt and is elided). Where the MSS are at variance, it is hardly safe to prefer a reading so anomalous. (3) *tractisque*. This avoids both problems described above; but *tractis comis* means 'with her hair pulled out'.

Phoebi: Apollo.

antistita 'priestess' (cf. 632 *antistite*, masc.), literally 'one who stands before' a god. Perhaps it is used here to underline the horror of her being dragged away while she was before the very altar.

411 non profecturas: her prayers were to be of no avail.

tendebat ad aethera palmas: she begs for help from her patron god.

412–14 These lines allude to Virgil's description of Hecuba and the daughters of Priam (cf. 409–10n.): *hic Hecuba et natae nequiquam altaria circum | ... | condensae et diuum amplexae simulacra sedebant* (*Aen.* 2.515–17). By extending the description to all the Trojan women, Ovid effects a transition to the main characters in his next story, or at least to the characters who figure largely in the Euripidean plays *Hecuba* and *Troades* by which his next tale is largely inspired: cf. 481.

412 Dardanidas matres: the Trojan women, descendants of Dardanus the founder of Troy. The adjective is applied by Homer to the women of Troy at *Il.* 18.122 = 339, and the Trojans are often called *Dardanidae* (masc.) in the *Aeneid*.

413 Cf., in addition to the Virgilian passage quoted in 412–14n., *Aen.* 2.489–90 *tum pauidae tectis matres ingentibus errant | amplexaeque tenent postes atque oscula figunt* (of the terror in Priam's palace as the Greeks burst in).

414 inuidiosa: *inuidiosus* can mean both 'enviable' and 'hateful'; here it is ambiguous. The sense 'causing envy' might be thought suitable because the arrogance of the Greeks in victory caused divine resentment (resulting in their fleet being wrecked on its return journey: cf. Eur. *Tro.* 48–97) or because division of spoils is an invidious process (as, for instance, in the first book of the *Iliad*; though there is no well known case of disagreement after the fall of Troy).

415–17 Astyanax, the young son of Hector and Andromache, was

thrown from a tower by the Greeks at the suggestion of Odysseus (according to the *Sack of Troy*) or Neoptolemus (according to the *Little Iliad*). At *Il.* 24.734–5 his mother Andromache foresees that fate for him, and at 6.390–496 occurs the famous scene where Andromache and her son go to the gate-tower of the city (373, 386) to meet Hector. Astyanax' cruel death is treated at length in the *Troades* of Euripides (709–98, 1123–250); it is not mentioned in the Virgilian account of the fall of Troy. The various versions of the story are listed by Frazer (1921) on Apollod. *Epit.* 5.23. For the 'argument from place' see 5–8n.

416 This line probably alludes to *Il.* 6.402–3 (cf. 415–17n.): 'Hector called him Scamandrius, but the other Trojans called him Astyanax ['lord of the city'], because Hector was the sole protector of Troy': *tuentem* renders 'protector'.

pro se proauitaque: for the variant scansions cf. 100n.

417 Andromache often used to point out Hector to Astyanax as they stood on the battlements. The scene is reminiscent of Helen's pointing out the Greek leaders to the old men of Troy at *Il.* 3.161–244 and perhaps of the meeting of Hector with his wife and son on the battlements at *Il.* 6.390–496, but the phrasing is again reminiscent of Virgil: Aeneas enters the palace of Priam through a postern gate: *postesque relicti | a tergo, infelix qua se, dum regna manebant, | saepius Andromache ferre incomitata solebat | ad soceros et auo puerum Astyanacta trahebat* (n.b.) (*Aen.* 2.454–7).

418 Boreas: a north wind, suitable for their journey down the Aegean sea.

secundo 'favourable', i.e. a 'following wind': *secundus* is an old participial gerundive of *sequor*.

420 dant oscula terrae: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.490, quoted in 413n.

421 Troades 'the Trojan women'; *-ĕs* is the Greek nominative plural ending in the third declension. *Troades* suggests Euripides' play of that name; and lines 420–1 evoke the end of the play, where the women lament the destruction of their city; cf. 1305–9 (they kneel on the ground and say farewell), 1298–9 and 1320–1 (smoke), 1318 (flames).

patriae fumantia tecta: perhaps an allusion to Virg. *Aen.* 3.3 *omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia*.

423–8 In his descriptions of characters Ovid often uses words

which hint at their ultimate metamorphosis (see p. 5). Here we are introduced to Hecuba, who will become a dog (565–71), as she haunts a graveyard 'giving kisses to bones' (424); in line 427 the word *canum* (with long *a*) may add to this effect; *tumulo* suggests *Kunos sēma* (see 569–70n.).

423 Hecabe: the Greek form of this word is *Hekabē*, the Latin *Hecuba*; *Hecubē* is a hybrid form, if it exists at all.

424 ossibus oscula dantem: a grotesque progression from *dant oscula terrae* (420).

425 Dulichiae ... manus: cf. 107 *Dulichius* ... *uertex*, and n. In the *Troades* Hecuba is particularly distressed because she has been allotted to the treacherous Odysseus (277–92); cf. 485–7.

425–6 hausit | ... haustos: she digs up the urn and carries it with her. For this use of *haurio* cf. 11.185–7 (Midas' barber) *humumque | effodit* ... *terraeque immurmurat haustae, OLD* s.v. 4a; for the repetition cf. 840–1 *uidi* ... *uidenti*. This detail is not attested elsewhere for Hecuba, but the carrying from abroad of a loved one's ashes *in sinu* is described by Martial (9.30.3 *rettulit ossa sinu cari Nigrina mariti*) and by Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.75.1 *quod* ... *feralis reliquias sinu ferret*).

427–8 It was common funeral practice to leave an offering of hair on the tomb (cf. Eur. *Tro.* 480).

crinem ... crinem: Ovid often repeats a word with varying metrical ictus (*crínem* ... *criném*): cf. 483, 498, 499. Repetition is a characteristic of laments.

429–38 These lines set the scene for the drama that is to follow. We are introduced to Polymestor, king of Thrace, who was entrusted by Priam with his son Polydorus so that the child might be well away from the dangers of war. When he heard of the Trojan defeat, Polymestor killed his ward and possessed himself of the treasure he had been given to keep safe for Priam's family. Polydorus' body was thrown from a cliff into the sea. See pp. 23–4.

429 Est ... tellus: stately set-piece descriptions of places are often introduced by an intransitive verb; the most common such expression is *est locus*. See Williams (1968) 644–57; cf. 778–9 *prominet in pontum* ... | *collis*.

ubi Troia fuit 'the place where Troy once stood'; cf. *Her.* 1.53. The words are from Virg. *Aen.* 3.11, where Aeneas and Anchises set sail from the ruins of their homeland. The quotation signals the im-

minence of the Polymestor episode: he is treated at Virg. *Aen.* 3.49–68 (see pp. 22–3).

Phrygiae: 44n.

430 Bistoniis: the Bistones were a tribe in SW Thrace, but in Greek and Latin poetry the adjective is used as a recherché equivalent for 'Thracian'.

431 commisit alendum: from Virg. *Aen.* 3.49–50 *Polydorum* ... | ... *Priamus furtim mandarat alendum.*

Phrygiisque remouit ab armis: the warfare at Troy: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.51–2 *cum iam diffideret armis* | *Dardaniae.*

433 consilium sapiens: accusative in apposition to what precedes; *inritamen* (434) is similarly constructed.

433–4 sceleris ... opes 'had he [Priam] not also handed over a great treasure, an inducement to crime'.

magnas | ... opes: the name Polydorus means 'many gifts'.

435 ut cecidit fortuna Phrygum: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.53 *ut opes fractae Teucrum et fortuna recessit.*

436 rex Thracum: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.51 *Threïcio regi.*

alumni: cf. 431 *alendum.*

438 misit in undas: the throwing of Polydorus from the cliff is described in a line which echoes the description of the throwing of Astyanax from the tower: 415 *mittitur Astyanax illis de turribus, unde* ...

439–532 The Greek fleet lands on the coast of Thrace. The ghost of Achilles appears and demands the sacrifice of Polyxena, daughter of Hecuba and Priam. Polyxena goes willingly to her death, and makes a noble speech. Her body is handed over for burial to Hecuba, who laments for her daughter and for her own wretched fate, adding in ignorance that Polydorus is now her only consolation.

439 Threïcio: the Greek epic form of the adjective (Θρηΐκιος).

religarat: contracted form of *religauerat.* For the pluperfect see 123n.

440 dum uentus amicior esset 'until [such time as] the wind should be more favourable'. There is perhaps a slight hint at the version of the story, parallel to that of the sacrifice of Iphigenia on the Greeks' outward journey (181–204n.), which had Achilles threaten to prevent the fleet from sailing unless Polyxena was killed. The Greek epic poet Quintus of Smyrna (third century AD) follows that version of events (14.216–27).

442 exit humo late rupta: Euripides' *Hecuba* is set in Thrace; near the beginning of the play it is reported that, before the Greeks left Troy, Achilles' ghost appeared from his tomb to demand the death of Polyxena (107ff.). Ovid has transferred the ghost to Thrace, and (since Achilles was not buried there) has it come up not from his tomb but from the earth. The image is inspired by the opening of the *Hecuba*, spoken by the ghost not of Achilles but of Polydorus: 'I come from the realm of the dead and the gates of darkness, where Hades dwells, apart from the other gods ...'

similisque minanti 'with a threatening expression'. This use of *similis* with a present participle is characteristic of Ovid: cf. 1.708, 2.501, 3.240, 7.785, 8.467–8 *similis crudele minanti* | *uultus erat*, etc.

443–4 temporis illius is dependent on *uultum*, to which *quo* refers: 'he brought to mind the expression of the time at which ...', i.e. 'his expression recalled that which he wore when ...' The reference is to *Il.* 1.188–94, the beginning of his wrath, where Achilles is so incensed with Agamemnon at his removal of the slave-girl Briseis that he begins to draw his sword; he is dissuaded by the wise counsel of the goddess Athena (Minerva). Achilles' wrath is emphasised by the word-play in *referebat*, *ferus*, and *ferro*. The pun on *ferus* and *ferrum* is a common one (*TLL* VI 602.42–6); cf. 454–5 *fera* ... *sacra* ... | ... *ferrumque tenentem*.

444 infesto: a conjecture of Slater, who compares Cat. 64.355 (Achilles) *Troiiugenum infesto prosternens corpora ferro*. The MSS read *iniusto*, which is very unlikely to be right: to say that Achilles attacked Agamemnon unjustly (because he was the appointed leader? Cf. *Il.* 1.277–9) brings an unwanted aspect to the story. The alternative conjecture *iniustum* (Magnus) would allude to Achilles' phrase 'the insolence of Agamemnon' (ὕβριν ... Ἀγαμέμνονος) at *Il.* 1.203, and would present the action from Achilles' perspective.

petiit: Ovid occasionally avails himself of the *-īt* third person singular ending of the perfect tense, which is regular in archaic Latin poetry. The vowel is by nature long.

445 -que: the so-called '*-que* Ovidianum', attached to the first quoted word rather than to the verb of saying; cf. 772, 874, 947.

447 Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 113–15 (the Chorus report the words of Achilles' ghost) 'where are you setting sail, leaving my tomb unhon-

oured?' (τύμβον | . . . ἀγέραστον ἀφέντες). This allusion supports the punctuation of lines 445–6 as a question.

448 placet: from *placo*, 'propitiate' (also at 461 and 468); cf. 515 *hostilia busta piasti*, 452 *fit hostia busto*.

mactata Polyxena 'the sacrifice of Polyxena': Latin prefers the concrete in such expressions. Cf. 520 *post diruta Pergama*.

449 immiti . . . umbrae: *immitis Achilles* is a Homeric-sounding formulaic phrase in the *Aeneid* (1.30 = 3.87).

parentibus 'obeying'. The focus shifts immediately to Polyxena, and the response of the *socii* is treated in an ablative absolute. Cf. 326n.

450 rapta sinu matris: cf. Eur. *Hec.* 141–2 'Odysseus is about to come to drag the girl [lit. 'foal'] from her grandmother's breast'.

quam iam prope sola fouebat: all Hecuba's male children have been killed in the war, and her female children either killed or allotted to Greek masters.

451–2 These lines are set in counterpoint to the words of Andromache at Virg. *Aen.* 3.321–3 *o felix una ante alios Priameïa uirgo | hostilem ad tumulum Troiae sub moenibus altis | iussa mori!*

451 uirgo is given three adjectival phrases of increasing length, culminating in the paradoxical *plus quam femina*: as a girl she could have been expected to act with less courage than a woman, but in the event she proved to have a *uirile ingenium*. At Eur. *Hec.* 612 Hecuba calls Polyxena 'maiden who is not a maiden' (παρθένον τ' ἀπάρθενον) – with reference however not to her fortitude, but (probably) to the fact that she is now Achilles' bride in the Underworld.

452 ducitur ad tumulum: we are to understand that this involves a sea-journey back to Troy; cf. 442n.

453 memor ipsa sui: these words seem to imply both that she was conscious of her royal birth and that she remembered to maintain a noble demeanour; she did not lose her self-possession. Cf. 479–80, Eur. *Hec.* 552, Virg. *Aen.* 4.336.

454 admota est: *admoueo* + dative is a technical expression for bringing a victim to the sacrificial altar (*OLD* s.v. 2).

sensitque sibi fera sacra parari: there is an ambiguity here, which depends on the emphasis accorded to *sibi*. The words may

mean 'when she saw the actual preparations for the sacrifice taking place'; but if *sibi* is stressed she is said to realise that it is *for her own sacrifice* that the preparations are being made; she has in that case been unaware of what is in store for her: cf. 468n.

Ovid has dispensed with the Euripidean scene of farewell between Polyxena and Hecuba when Odysseus comes to lead her to the sacrifice (*Hec.* 402–43).

For the expression cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.132 (Sinon; also of human sacrifice) *mihi sacra parari* (historic infinitive).

455 Neoptolemum: 155n. It fell to Neoptolemus, as son of Achilles, to perform the sacrifice.

457–73 Polyxena's speech of high and free virtue is inspired in part by lines 547–70 of Euripides' *Hecuba*. In that play her death is reported by the herald Talthybius, who quotes her speech: 'Greeks who sacked my city, I die willingly; let no one lay a hand on me; I shall offer up my neck bravely. As I die freely, for god's sake leave me free as you kill me: it would be shameful for a princess to be called a slave in the realm of the dead.' Agamemnon orders her to be released; she pulls aside her robe ready for the blow, kneels, and says to Neoptolemus, 'Here is my breast, young man: strike it if you will. If you wish to strike me in the neck, here is my throat ready.' Even as she falls dying, Polyxena takes care to maintain a decorous posture (479–80n.).

457 iamdudum 'now at last': she is impatient to have the business finished.

generoso sanguine: cf. 469 *liber erit sanguis*.

458 nulla mora est: sc. 'on my part'.

aut . . . uel: for the alternation see *OLD* s.v. *aut* 5b.

iugulo . . . pectore: cf. Eur. *Hec.* 563–5 (quoted in 457–73n.).

459 conde: cf. 391–2 (Ajax) *in pectus . . . | condidit ensem*.

iugulumque simul pectusque retexit: cf. Eur. *Hec.* 558–61 (quoted in 457–73n.). On Ovid's parentheses see p. 6, 558–64n.

460–1 Line 461 has little relevance to the argument, and fits poorly with the rhetoric of voluntary death; it seems very likely that it should be deleted. (Magnus placed it after 468, Postgate after 465, but neither transposition is effective.) Line 460, too, is suspect: the expression is flat, and *scilicet*, surprising in the mouth of Polyxena, is a word very commonly used by annotators to explain some aspect of

the text ('that is ...', 'i.e.'). Heinsius preferred the reading *ferrem*, Ehwald *uellet*, continuing the parenthesis from *iugulumque* to *ferret*; but *seruire* must surely refer not to her mode of death but to her refusal to live as a slave.

461 sacrum: a noun, 'sacrifice'.

462 tantum uellem 'I only wish that ...'

463 necis ... gaudia: the pleasure that she takes in being killed. In Euripides Polyxena says that the very word 'slave' makes her long for death (*Hec.* 358 θανεῖν ἐρᾶν τίθησιν).

464 Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 372–8, where Polyxena tells her mother that for a person who has been fortunate it is happier to die than to suffer the novelty of deprivation. Cf. ibid. 211–15.

465 modo: for this use in commands see *OLD* s.v. *modo*[1] 1b.

ne ... non libera: cf. Eur. *Hec.* 550–2 (457–73n.), where Polyxena dwells on the value of a free death.

466 ite procul: *procul* (Greek ἑκάς) is often used in the language of cult and ritual to warn off those who by their presence pollute the ceremony or mar its efficacy. Here Polyxena implies that it would be improper for *uiri* to touch (*tactu*) a *uirgo* who is *intacta* – and perhaps implies further that, if they were to do so, the sacrifice would not be acceptable to the gods.

466–7 tactuque uiriles | uirgineo remouete manus: cf. Eur. *Hec.* 548–9 (457–73n.), where this aspect of her situation is given less emphasis than the theme of freedom; erotic possibilities are however raised later in the same speech at lines 559–61 (she bares her breasts); cf. 605–8.

467 uirgineo: the adjective, as often in poetry, stands in place of an objective genitive (*tactu uirginis*, i.e. *uirginem tangere*).

468 quisquis is est: probably these words are to be understood as characterising Polyxena's haughty attitude towards her captors rather than as showing that she does not know the identity of the man to whom she is to be sacrificed; although she is nowhere said to be aware of this detail, we are perhaps meant to assume, from our knowledge of Euripides' play, that she knows more than she explicitly states. Cf., however, 454n.

470–1 Priami ... filia regis, | non captiua: the MSS are divided here between *non* and *nunc*. The negative seems stronger rhetorically and to fit better Polyxena's proud argument, but *nunc*

may be right (cf. Eur. *Hec.* 349–50 'my father was king of all the Trojans', 357 'but now I am a slave'), even though it cannot be reconciled logically with line 465.

471–3 At the close of her speech Polyxena reverts to concern for her mother (cf. 462–4), and asks that her body should be given to Hecuba for a ransom of tears. That poor ransom she contrasts with the treasure which Priam was able to hand over to Achilles when he ransomed the body of her brother Hector (ten talents of gold and many precious objects: *Il.* 24.229–37).

471 genetrici: a word belonging chiefly to a high poetic register (162, 186nn.), and therefore serving further to characterise Polyxena's proud hauteur.

472 neue: for *neue* for the usual *nec* after a positive see *OLD* s.v. 2c.

ius . . . sepulchri 'the right to bury me'.

473 et auro: i.e. as well as with tears. Hecuba's lament over Hector is at *Il.* 24.747–59.

474 dixerat: 123n.

475 flens inuitusque sacerdos: Neoptolemus (155, 323, 409–10nn.), who is called 'the priest' at Eur. *Hec.* 224. This and the following line are inspired by *Hec.* 566–7 'he [sc. Neoptolemus], both willingly and, out of pity for her, unwillingly, cut her throat (πνεύματος διαρροάς, lit. 'the channels of her breath') with his sword'. Ovid heightens the pathos by omitting any suggestion that Neoptolemus is pleased to carry out this duty, and changes the death-dealing blow from throat to breast (cf. *Hec.* 563, quoted in 457–73n.).

476 A Golden Line describes the climactic event of Polyxena's sacrifice. Cf. 54, 968nn.

praebita 'which she offered': cf. 459.

477 defecto poplite: perhaps an echo of Catullus' description of the sacrifice of Polyxena at 64.369–70 *quae, uelut ancipiti succumbens uictima ferro, | proiciet truncum summisso poplite corpus*. In Euripides' account she bends her knee in readiness for the blow (561 καθεῖσα πρὸς γαῖαν γόνυ: see 457–73n.).

478 'She maintained her fearless expression/attitude right to the very end.'

479–80 Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 568–70 'at the very moment of dying she made sure that she fell in a modest way, keeping hidden what male

eyes should not see'. This conceit became popular in descriptions of dignified and eroticised deaths: Bömer cites, amongst other examples, Suet. *Jul.* 82.2 (Caesar) and *Fasti* 2.833–4 (Lucretia).

481 recensent 'review in their minds'.

482 Priamidas 'the children of Priam': accusative plural of *Priamides* (masculine patronymic form). At *Il.* 24.495–501 Priam tells Achilles that most of his fifty sons (of whom Hecuba is the mother of nineteen) have been killed in the war. Cf. 450n.

quid is here used with the partitive genitive; *quantum* is commoner in this construction. Some MSS have *quot … cruores*, but Ovid nowhere uses the grandiose plural of *cruor*.

483 teque … teque: the narrator often heightens pathos by addressing characters directly (cf. 432); here the technique is used to move the focus to Hecuba. In this instance the address reproduces words used in the lament implied in lines 483–5.

483–4 modo regia coniunx, | regia dicta parens: *dicta* is to be supplied in the first vocative and *modo* in the second: a so-called 'double *apo koinou* construction'.

This bitter change in fortune is often stressed in Euripides' *Hecuba*: cf. 60–1, 284–5, 492–3, 809–11. See p. 23 n. 95.

484 Asiae florentis imago 'the very personification of Asia's prosperity' (cf. *OLD* s.v. *imago* 11). Asia was a byword for luxurious living – an aspect of Trojan life which was not much emphasised by Homer. Contrast, for instance, Eur. *Tro.* 991–7.

485 etiam praedae: even in this respect she is unlucky.

mala sors: Hecuba is identified with her wretched lot.

486 tamen: there is an ellipse in the logic: he would not have wanted her as his slave were it not for the fact that [despite her feeble, wretched and physically unappealing state] she was *nevertheless* the woman who had given birth to Hector. The words that follow (*dominum matri uix repperit Hector*) make a sardonic point which in its concision is typical of the rhetorical schools: Ulysses almost did not take her, but the fact that she was mother of Hector tipped the scale; and Hector's great renown just succeeded in finding for his mother – a slave-master.

487 edideras: this, a conjecture of Heinsius, continues the address begun in lines 483–4 until the end of the sentence. The MSS have *ediderat*, which may be right.

488 corpus complexa: Polyxena's body is handed over to the Trojan women (481 *Troades excipiunt*), who convey it to Hecuba.

animae . . . fortis depends on *inane*, 'empty of . . .'

489–90 quas dederat . . . dat: not only 'shed' but also 'offered up' as a last tribute to the dead. Repetition (*dederat, dat*; *lacrimas, lacrimas*) is characteristic of the ritual lament: cf. 494–503n.

490 lacrimas in uulnera fundit: at 4.140–2 Thisbe on finding the body of Pyramus *uulnera suppleuit lacrimis fletumque cruori | miscuit et gelidis in uultibus oscula figens | . . . clamauit.*

491 osculaque ore tegit: Hecuba 'covers her (Polyxena's) lips with her mouth', i.e. bestows a final kiss. *osculum* commonly means 'kiss', but sometimes, as here, 'lip' (*OLD* s.v. 2).

consuetaque: her breast is all too used to being beaten in lamentation.

492 canitiemque: cf. 427–8.

concreto in sanguine uerrens: her hair trails over Polyxena's bloodied breast as she laments. For this use of *uerro* cf. 961 *caesariemque meam, quam longa per aequora uerro*; but here the idea of Hecuba sweeping her hair repeatedly over the corpse is a curious one, and the word may be corrupt. Tearing the hair would be more usual, and the obvious correction is *uellens* (Postgate); but when applied to hair that verb normally describes the act of careful plucking (*OLD* s.v. 1). In Euripides' play her hair is said to be befouled with dust as she lies on the ground (*Hec.* 495–6).

493 plura quidem, sed et haec . . . dixit: these words give the impression that what is about to be quoted is merely a sample of, or extract from, Hecuba's lamentations.

laniato pectore: in this instance the standard gesture of mourning serves to reproduce the appearance of the dead woman (476, 492); line 495 draws further attention to the parallelism.

494–503 Hecuba's opening lines are full of antitheses and repetitions, characteristics of ritual lament: 494–5 *nata . . . nata*; 495–6 *mea . . . meorum*; 495, 497 *uulnera . . . uulnus*; 496, 499 *perdiderim . . . perdidit*; 497–8 *femina . . . femina*; 498 *ferro . . . ferro*; 498, 501 *cecidisti . . . cecidit*; 499 *idem . . . idem*; 500, 502 *Achilles . . . Achilles*; 502–3 *nunc . . . metuendus . . . nunc . . . metuendus*. See Alexiou (1974) 131–60. 'The devices here (apostrophe, parenthetical questions, hyperbaton of noun and adjective, double nominal chiasmus and juxtaposition of verbs, expan-

sion, separated appositives) are extraordinary in their accumulation' (Wills (1996) 139).

494 Nata: the Euripidean Hecuba, having heard the news of Polyxena's death, begins a long speech with the words 'O daughter' (585), though this speech of the Ovidian Hecuba bears little resemblance to it. Wills (1996) 139 traces the repetition of *nata* to Cat. 64.215–17 via Virg. *Aen.* 1.664–5.

quid enim superest?: these words look forward to *ultime*: surely, she believes, this must be the last of her sufferings. But the rhetorical question finds an answer towards the end of her speech when she remembers Polydorus (527–8 *superest ... proles gratissima matri*), who to her is still a source of consolation but by us is known already to be a cause for further *dolor* (538).

495 nata, iaces: juxtaposition of words implying birth and death emphasises the pitiful unnaturalness of a mother mourning a child.

uideoque tuum, mea uulnera, uulnus: 493n. Various MSS have various permutations of *meum/tuum*, *pectora/uulnera* and *pectus/uulnus*. The text printed here provides good sense in itself ('your wounds are my wounds'; cf. 10.197 *uideoque tuum, mea crimina, uulnus*), but seems to take away from the effectiveness of the point made in line 497 (*tu quoque uulnus habes*). For that reason Heinsius conjectured *uideoque tuum, mea funera, funus*, which may be right: it gives an elegant play on words ('your corpse is my ruin') and follows better after *iaces*; cf. 518 *uti noua funera cernam*.

The figure in which an inner phrase is placed within a phrase with which it is in apposition is common in the *Met.* (cf. 551 and e.g. 10.197 above); see Solodow (1986) 145.

496 ne perdiderim 'so that I should not have lost': she reviews the violent deaths of her children in the past.

497–504 Two paradoxical points: though a woman, Polyxena has 'fallen by the sword' (498); and Achilles, who is no longer alive, is her murderer. See pp. 26–7.

497 quia femina: sc. *eras*.

498 cecidisti ... ferro: a phrase which would normally be applied to a man's death in battle.

et femina 'even though a woman'.

499 tuos ... fratres: 482n.

500 exitium Troiae: cf. 168–9 (Ulysses to Achilles) *tibi se peritura reseruant | Pergama*. Achilles died before Troy was captured, but by slaying Hector he destroyed the city's chief protection.

orbator: the word appears to have been coined by Ovid for this context.

501 In the *Iliad* Achilles' death at the hands of Paris and Apollo is briefly prophesied in the dying words of Hector (22.358–60), and it was narrated in the *Aethiopis*. Ovid has told the story at the close of Book 12: Apollo, at the instigation of Poseidon (Neptune), incites Paris to shoot at Achilles and directs his arrow (580–611).

502 certe 'at any rate'.

503 metuendus erat 'I ought to have feared him' ('how wrong I was'). Cf. 72n. The effect is enhanced by repetition of *Achilles* at the end of lines 500 and 502.

503–5 The elder Seneca records that the orator M. Aemilius Scaurus called a certain Montanus 'the Ovid among orators' because he did not know when to stop, and Seneca quotes these lines as an example of Ovid's 'Montanism': *cum Polyxena esset abducta ut ad tumulum Achillis immolaretur, Hecuba dicit 'cinis ipse sepulti in genus hoc pugnat'. poterat hoc contentus esse; adiecit 'tumulo quoque sensimus hostem'. nec hoc contentus est; adiecit 'Aeacidae fecunda fui'. aiebat autem Scaurus rem ueram: non minus magnam uirtutem esse scire dicere quam scire desinere* (*Contr*. 9.5.17). Behind this criticism lies the notion that each of these *sententiae* (pointed and ingenious utterances) is equivalent to the others and forms a suitable climax, so that Ovid is over-indulging his own cleverness (*sententias suas repetendo corrumpit*, ibid.).

504 saeuit: Seneca has *pugnat* (503–5n.), but he is probably quoting from memory; *saeuit* seems more suitable for the proverbially wrathful Achilles (cf. p. 2 n.5, and 108–9, 449nn.).

tumulo quoque 'even from the tomb'.

505 Ilion ingens: see 169n.; here Ovid echoes Virg. *Aen*. 2.325–6 *fuit Ilium et ingens | gloria Teucrorum*.

506 publica contrasts with *soli mihi* (507): the general destruction is over, but Hecuba's sufferings are unabated.

507 tamen 'nevertheless'. See *OLD* s.v. *sed* 6.

soli mihi Pergama restant: for her, still suffering, it is as if Troy still stood. Cf. *Her*. 1.51 *uni mihi Pergama restant*.

508 maxima rerum: i.e. a great and powerful person. For the construction cf. 12.502–3 *fortissima rerum* | ... *natura*, with Bömer's n.

509–10 Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 619–23 'O once prosperous house, O Priam once blessed with many possessions and many children – and me, too, an old woman, mother of your children – we have come to nothing and lost our former pride', 809–11 'once a queen, I am now your slave; once I was a fortunate mother, but now I am old and childless, homeless, alone, of mortals most miserable'; *Tro.* 474–98.

509 tot generis natisque ... nuribusque: Priam had fifty sons (482nn.) and many daughters.

510 trahor: dragged off to slavery: cf. 414 *inuidiosa trahunt uictores praemia Grai*, 425 *Dulichiae traxere manus.* The notion of violence is continued in *tumulis auulsa meorum* and is ironically commuted into the terms of servitude in *data pensa trahentem* (511).

511 Penelopae munus 'as prize for Penelope': cf. 485–7.

data pensa trahentem 'spinning the weight [of wool] given to me' as a day's allotted work for a female slave. The phrase *pensa trahere* is used by Ovid also at *Fasti* 2.743, *Her.* 3.75 and *Tr.* 4.1.13. See 510n. Hecuba envisages other menial tasks at Eur. *Tro.* 491–7.

512 matribus ... Ithacis: a stately epic phrase for the noblewomen of Ithaca. Here, however, *matribus* has an added, bitter point, since Hecuba will be displayed to them as 'famous mother of Hector', and her shame and grief will be compounded by being exposed to the curious gaze of happy mothers. Ovid has transferred to Hecuba a vision of the future given by Homer to her son Hector in Book 6 of the *Iliad* (cf. 415–17n.): Hector foresees the doom of slavery for his wife Andromache, and continues, 'and in Argos you will weave at another woman's loom, and carry water ... much against your will; but stern necessity will compel you. And, seeing you weeping, someone will say, "This is the wife of Hector, the foremost Trojan fighter during the war at Ilium." So someone will say, and your grief at no longer having such a man to ward off the day of servitude for you, will be renewed' (456–63).

illa 'the great', 'the well known'.

513 Priameïa coniunx: an epic periphrasis (cf. 45, 162, 399–400, 587nn.). *Priameïus* is a Greek adjectival form (Πριαμήιος) found first at Virg. *Aen.* 2.403, 3.321.

514 tot amissos: sc. *filios et filias.*

514–15 quae sola leuabas | maternos luctus: cf. Eur. *Hec.* 280–1 (Hecuba of Polyxena) 'she alone now takes the place of many things: she is my solace (παραψυχή), city, nurse, support, and guide'.

515 hostilia busta piasti = *manes hostiles placasti* (Bömer). Cf. 448n., 452.

516 inferias hosti peperi: cf. 505 *Aeacidae fecunda fui,* another paradox of birth.

516–17 quo ferrea resto, | quidue moror?: there is an allusion to the words of Dido to Aeneas at Virg. *Aen.* 4.323–5 *cui me moribundam deseris hospes | (hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat)? | quid moror?* – lines which, according to the ancient commentator Servius, were found intensely moving by Augustus when they were read to him by Virgil.

516 quo ferrea resto 'why does my iron heart not break?' (Melville (1986)): she wonders how she can have had the strength to remain alive. It is perhaps relevant that at *Il.* 24.205 Hecuba tells Priam 'you have an iron heart' (σιδήρειόν νύ τοι ἦτορ), i.e. an inflexible or 'iron' will. Cf. 132–3n.

For *quo* meaning 'to what end?', 'for what purpose?', see 103n.

517 quidue moror?: Servius records that in the Virgilian passage (516–17n.) it was debated whether *quid moror?* meant *quid in hac terra moror?* or *quid in uita moror?* Here the context suggests the latter meaning.

damnosa: her old age is attended with ruin. This seems a more powerful reading than *annosa,* though the latter may gain some support from *anum* in line 519 (see n.).

518 nisi uti noua funera cernam: irony. She is as yet ignorant of Polydorus' death.

519 uiuacem differtis anum: there is probably word-play on *annus* (or on *annosa,* if that is the right reading in line 517): cf. Paul. Fest. 6 (Maltby (1991) 40) *anus dicta est ab annorum multitudine, quoniam antiqui non geminabant consonantes.* The etymologising is reinforced by a curious allusion to line-ends such as *decimum dilatus in annum* (12.76), itself an echo of Virg. *Aen.* 9.155 *quos distulit Hector in annum.*

521 felix morte sua est: the sentiment is expressed in the language of a formal blessing, paradoxical in that death is not usually seen as a fortunate state. Here Ovid echoes the most famous Virgil-

ian instance of a lament for a dead child, when Evander mourns for Pallas and says that his late wife is fortunate not to have lived to see such a day: *tuque, o sanctissima coniunx,* | *felix morte tua neque in hunc seruata dolorem.* | *contra ego uiuendo uici mea fata, superstes* | *restarem ut genitor* (*Aen.* 11.158–61).

522 uitam pariter regnumque reliquit: i.e. he did not experience the misery of *uita* without *regnum.*

523 at, puto: heavily ironical (*OLD* s.v. *at* 12): she expects the opposite of even this consolation, since back on the shore of Thrace (452n.) they are far from their ancestral places of burial (526 *peregrinae*).

funeribus dotabere, regia uirgo 'funeral rites will be your dowry, royal maiden': an imitation of Virg. *Aen.* 7.318 (Juno chafes at her inability to prevent Aeneas' success, and threatens that at any rate it shall be won at a heavy cost) *sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, uirgo* (Lavinia).

525 munera 'grave-offerings' (*OLD* s.v. *munus* 3), in apposition to *fletus* and *haustus harenae* (526).

526 peregrinaeque haustus harenae: 523n., 425–6n. A handful of dust scattered over the corpse is a minimum requirement for formal burial.

527 omnia perdidimus: cf. *Ex P.* 4.16.49. *omnia perdere* is a cliché: see Bömer *ad loc.*

530 Ismario regi: Polymestor. Mt Ismarus was in southern Thrace, but *Ismarius* is used by poets as a general synonym for 'Thracian': cf. 430 *Bistonius*, 554 *Odrysius.*

531 quid moror: cf. 517 and n. Here the phrase means 'why do I delay to...?' + infinitive: *OLD* s.v. *moror* 7a.

interea here has adversative force (*OLD* s.v. b).

531–2 uulnera lymphis | abluere: the high poetic word *lymphis* and the positioning of the phrase over a line-break make clear the echo of Virg. *Aen.* 4.683–4 *uulnera lymphis* | *abluam,* where similarly one woman (Anna) tends to another (Dido) in death. The washing of the body, whether wounded or not, was a part of the ritual of burial.

532 immiti sanguine: if this is the right reading, *immiti* is a transferred epithet ('blood shed by a cruel man') which is not so easily intelligible as *crudelia uulnera* in line 531. The variant reading *insonti* may be right: cf. 563 *sanguine sonti.*

533–5 Ovid follows Euripides in having Hecuba's washing of the corpse of Polyxena the means of her discovery of the body of Polydorus. In Euripides, however, an old female servant is sent to the seashore to fetch the water (609) and returns to Hecuba with the corpse (658ff.); in Ovid Hecuba must perform even that menial task herself.

534 albentes lacerata comas 'tearing her white hair': *lacerata* is in the middle voice, and *comas* is its direct object. Cf. 2.335 *laniata sinus*.

536 eiectum: cast up by the sea (not thrown out on the shore by Polymestor).

in litore may be taken with *aspicit* or with *eiectum*, or with both.

537 factaque ... uulnera telis: *telis* is a poetic plural for 'sword' (cf. 458): we have been told at line 435 that Polydorus was killed with an *ensis* (as in Euripides: *Hec.* 716–20). But Bömer is probably right to see in the ambiguous use of the plural an allusion to the quite different account of his death in Virgil (cf. p. 22), where he is said to have been killed by many *tela*, 'javelins' (*Aen.* 3.45–6 *ferrea* ... | *telorum seges*), which subsequently took root and grew from his body.

540 deuorat: perhaps translate 'stifled'.

540–2 duroque ... uultus: these lines are similar to Virgil's description of Dido in the Underworld: ... *torua tuentem* | *lenibat dictis animum lacrimasque ciebat.* | *illa solo fixos oculos auersa tenebat,* | *nec magis incepto uultum sermone mouetur* | *quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes* (*Aen.* 6.467–71).

540 duroque simillima saxo: another metamorphic possibility is suggested here: is she about to turn, like Niobe deprived of all her children, into a weeping rock?

541 aduersa ... terra: i.e. on the ground directly before her eyes. Cf. 125 *oculos* ... *tellure moratos*. The ablatives are locatival.

542 toruos ... uultus: cf. 3–4 (Ajax), 844–5 (Polyphemus).

543 positi 'stretched out' in death: *OLD* s.v. *pono* 7a *ad fin. nati* is to be understood with *positi* in the first half of the line, and *positi* with *nati* in the second half: cf. 483–4n.

543–4 uulnera nati, | uulnera praecipue: the anaphora, reminiscent of the repetition at lines 494–5, emphasises the series of deaths.

545 maneret = *adhuc esset.*

546 poenaeque in imagine tota est 'she was totally absorbed by the idea of punishing him'. The same words are used of the revengeful Philomela at 6.586. For the expression *totus esse in* ... see *OLD* s.v. *totus* 4.

547–8 In a context such as this, an animal simile can be counted a temporary metamorphosis, and this is another example of teasing play with the idea of change for Hecuba, who is shortly to become an animal: cf. pp. 25–6, 540n.

Lion similes are very commonly used in epic poetry to illustrate ferocity and bloodthirstiness. The inspiration for this one is *Il.* 18.318–22: 'His frequent groans were like those of a bearded lion whose cubs a deer-hunting man has stolen from a protecting wood: the [male] lion, returning too late, grieves and ranges through the valleys, trying to track down the man and hoping to find him, since bitter *anger* possesses it ...' Ovid's simile, in contrast to that of Homer, suggests that the lioness has found the man's scent (548 *signaque nacta pedum*) and is steadily tracking him; in Homer the possibility of successful revenge is much more remotely expressed ('trying ... hoping ...'). The simile restores to Hecuba the epic dignity which her menial tasks (535) threatened to remove, and leads into the final bloodthirsty scene in which she once again controls events.

547 catulo: in Homer's simile (547–8n.) there is more than one cub; here the singular (and *hostem* in line 548 for the Homeric deer-hunter) brings the circumstances nearer to those of Hecuba. It may be significant in the light of Hecuba's later metamorphosis that the primary meaning of *catulus* is 'puppy', though it is used commonly enough for the young of other animals (cf. 836 *catulos* ... *ursae*).

550 A highly unusual chiastically constructed line, with three elisions (including one, exceptionally, over the third-foot caesura), three *-orum* endings, and a word-play on *animorum* and *annorum* (cf. 519n.). Ovid plays on these words at 1.750 and 7.658.

animorum the plural *animi* can mean 'anger' (*OLD* s.v. *animus* 11) as well as 'pride' (ibid. 12).

551 uadit ad ... Polymestora: in Euripides' play Polymestor is summoned to visit Hecuba with the connivance of Agamemnon, who sympathises with her desire for revenge. Ovid's swift narrative cuts out the intermediary: cf. 533–5n.

artificem probably alludes to the etymology of Polymestor, whose name means 'much-devising'. Cf. 555n.

Polymestora: 551n.

552–3 Reported speech, with the verb of saying understood: 'she said that she wished to show to him gold that still remained hidden, so that he could give it to her son'. The Euripidean Hecuba lures Polymestor to his doom with the promise of 'ancient stores of gold belonging to the sons of Priam' (1002; cf. 1146–8). *aurum*, the tempting inducement to Polymestor's greed, is delayed for maximum effect to the last word of the line and of the sentence, and after the relative clause which depends on it.

554 Odrysius: the Odrysae were a tribe in northern Thrace near the river Hebrus, but *Odrysius*, like *Bistonius* (430), *Ismarius* (530), *Sithonius* (571), etc., was used in poetry as a synonym for 'Thracian'.

praedaeque adsuetus amore 'with his customary love for spoil': he had become used to the regular supplies from Priam (429–38n.). *adsuetus* and *adsuefacio* are occasionally constructed with the ablative rather than the more usual dative, and there seems to be no need to emend to *amori* (Heinsius), despite the similar expression *auidaeque adsueta rapinae* at *Tr.* 1.11.31. But the sense of *adsuetus* is not entirely satisfactory: one expects a more forceful participle showing that Polymestor was urged on or stimulated to act as he did. Of suggested emendations, *accensus* (Magnus) seems the most likely: cf. 11.527 *laudisque accensus amore*.

555 in secreta 'to a private meeting', and also 'to an unfrequented place'. In Euripides' play Hecuba lures Polymestor into the tent where the women are confined, and with their help blinds him and kills his children. Ovid leaves the location unspecified: cf. 558–64n.

callidus: perhaps another allusion to the etymology of Polymestor's name: cf. 551n. He speaks with sickening hypocrisy, since he has just murdered the child whose interests he affects to consider.

556 tolle moras = 'without delay': cf. 458 *nulla mora est*. For *tollo* = 'remove' in this sense see *OLD* s.v. 14c.

557 quod et ante dedisti = *et quod ante dedisti*.

558–64 The denouement of Polymestor's story is described in a single long co-ordinate sentence with two short parentheses (562, 564), a style of narrative used elsewhere by Ovid to guide the reader

past those aspects of a myth on which he chooses not to dilate at length (cf. 382–98, 623–31, 705–18nn.). In Euripides these and ancillary events form the closing scenes of the play (1035–1295).

558–9 spectat truculenta loquentem | falsaque iurantem: *truculenta* describes Hecuba, and the neuter plural *falsa* is object of both *loquentem* and *iurantem*.

560 ita: i.e. in her rage (559 *ira*; cf. 562).

correpto: probably dative of disadvantage with *inuocat* and *condit* rather than a one-word ablative absolute with the subject to be supplied: 'she summoned the captive women into the presence of the man whom she had seized ...'

561–4 In Euripides the women use brooch pins to put out his eyes. Ovid increases the horror with a lengthy description of the deed: Hecuba acts alone, and uses her bare hands to gouge out his eyes.

562 expellitque: a majority of MSS have *expilat*, 'plunders', but the verb is not found elsewhere in verse.

potentem: some manuscripts read *nocentem*; but a reference to the fact rather than to the manner of her revenge seems more appropriate.

563 foedataque sanguine sonti: *foedata* probably refers to Hecuba, not to the eye-socket (564). For the transferred epithet *sonti* cf. 561 *perfida lumina*.

564 The height of savagery. There being no eyes left to tear out, she rips at the very sockets. The idea is expressed in a characteristically Ovidian paradox: cf. 3.237 *iam loca uulneribus desunt*, 5.463 *quaerenti defuit orbis*, 8.805 *uentris erat pro uentre locus*.

(neque enim superest): cf. 494 *(quid enim superest?)*.

haurit: 425n.

566 incessere iactu: cf. 232 *incessere dictis*.

567 missum ... saxum: probably singular for plural; though the extant monument (569–70n.) may have been taken to be the very rock with which she was stoned.

rauco cum murmure 'with a snarling growl': with *insequitur*, not *missum*. It was noted as a characteristic of dogs that when stoned they vent their anger on the stone rather than the stoner (Pliny, *Nat.* 29.102).

568–9 rictuque ... | latrauit: Ovid's description of Hecuba is

echoed by Juvenal in the tenth satire, where she is cited as an example of reversal of fortune (cf. p. 23 n. 95): 271–2 *torua canino | latrauit rictu.* Juvenal's *torua*, too, is from Ovid: 542 *toruos sustollit ad aethera uultus.*

569–70 locus exstat et ex re | nomen habet: as is often the case, the metamorphosis is followed by an aetiological note explaining that evidence for the miracle is still in existence (cf. 897). The place, a promontory on the Thracian coast, was called in Greek *Kynos sēma*, 'Dogsbarrow' (Kenney). In Euripides Polymestor prophesies that she will become a dog, jump into the sea from the masthead of Odysseus' ship, and be buried at a place which will be called Cynossema, a sighting mark for future sailors (see pp. 24–5). Ovid makes no mention of this tradition, but seems to envisage Hecuba ranging through the countryside until she finally dies and is buried at Cynossema.

571 tum quoque: this, and the word *diu*, probably qualify *memor* ('even in her transformed state she long remembered ...'), though the chronological sequence after *locus exstat et ex re | nomen habet* is surprising. The difficulty might be made easier if *-que* in line 570 were translated 'for' (*OLD* s.v. 11a), so that the words which followed were in explanation of *locus ... habet*; *diu* would then gain greater point. *tum quoque* seems to be a variant of *nunc quoque*, a phrase commonly used to introduce an aetiology: see 62n., Myers (1994) 66–7.

Sithonios: Sithonia was the central of the three prongs of the peninsula of Chalcidice, but for poets the adjective was another recherché equivalent for 'Thracian': cf. 554n.

572 Subject and verb are to be supplied from the following line.

suos: i.e. those on her own side in the war.

Pelasgos: 13n.

574 sic omnes, ut et ipsa 'yes, all, for even Juno ...' (Miller).

et ipsa Iouis coniunxque sororque: even Juno (Hera), sister–wife of Jupiter (Zeus) and constant supporter of the Greek cause during the Trojan War, felt pity for Hecuba. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.46–7 (Juno) *Iouisque | et soror et coniunx.*

576 Non uacat Aurorae: the transition to a new episode is effected by the statement that Aurora did *not* share the general pity for Hecuba. Ovid uses this method elsewhere in the *Met.* (1.583–5, 11.90, 12.4, *al.*). It has its origins in Homer: cf. e.g. *Il.* 2.1–4 'The other gods and warrior men slept all through the night, but sweet

sleep did not take hold of Zeus: he was planning how to bring honour to Achilles', 10.1–4 'The other Greek heroes slept through the night by their ships, overcome with soft sleep; but sweet sleep did not take hold of Agamemnon, son of Atreus, shepherd of his people, as he turned over many things in his mind.'

quamquam isdem fauerat armis: she naturally favoured the Trojan side, since Tithonus, son of the Trojan king Laomedon and brother of Priam, was the father of Memnon.

578 propior 'nearer' to her heart, but also nearer in terms of kinship, for which *propior* is a technical term (*OLD* s.v. 3).

579–80 lutea ... mater: in Homer Aurora (Eos) is given the epithet 'saffron-robed' (κροκόπεπλος) as well as the more familiar 'rosy-fingered' (ῥοδοδάκτυλος: cf. 581 *rubescunt*). *luteus* is orange-yellow. The adjective had been applied to Aurora already by Virgil (*Aen.* 7.26). For the expression cf. 288 *caerula mater*, another 'translation' of a Homeric epithet: see the n. *ad loc.*

581–2 The sky is dimmed as a result of suffering on earth – an aspect of the 'pathetic fallacy'. Ovid produces variations on this common conceit at 2.330–3 (Phoebus), 11.570–2 (Lucifer) and 15.785–6 (the sun at Caesar's death). For examples in other writers see Bömer on 15.789.

582 tempora: there may be a pun on 'temples' (= 'head').

584 crine soluto: mourning women loosed their hair.

585 sicut erat: i.e. determined to appear before Jupiter with the pity-evoking demeanour of a woman in mourning. The words normally refer to neglected or unkempt appearance: cf. 5.601 *sicut eram, fugio sine uestibus.*

587–99 The appeal to Jupiter is inspired by that of Thetis to Zeus in the first book of the *Iliad.* Thetis is concerned that her son, Achilles, has been insulted by Agamemnon (cf. 176, 443–4nn.). She supplicates Zeus (cf. 585 *genibus procumbere*) and says, 'Father Zeus, if ever I have been of use to you among the immortals in word or action, grant this wish of mine: give honour to my son, who is fated to die earlier than other men ...'; and, when Zeus appears reluctant, she adds, 'Promise me this truly now and nod your assent – or refuse, since you have no reason to fear, so that I may know by how far I am the least honoured of all the gods' (1.500–16). Ovid's *omnibus inferior* (587) renders the memorable close of Thetis' speech (μετὰ

πᾶσιν ἀτιμοτάτη θεός εἰμι, 1.516). He greatly elaborates the claim to deserve honour on the part of the goddess (eight lines; only one in Homer). *primisque sub annis* (596) alludes to 'fated to die earlier than other men' (505 ὠκυμορώτατος ἄλλων); and *da* ... *honorem* (598) is equivalent to 'give honour' (505 τίμησόν μοι υἱόν). Since it was Achilles who killed Memnon, these allusions are particularly appropriate. It seems very likely that in the *Aethiopis* itself (p. 28) the supplication scene was modelled on that in Book 1 of the *Iliad*.

587 omnibus inferior: see 587–99n.

quas sustinet aureus aether: a dignified periphrasis for 'who live in heaven'. *aureus* probably contains a pun on Aurora's name: cf. Varro, *L.* 7.83 (Maltby (1991) 68) *aurora dicitur ab eo quod ab igni solis tum aureo aer aurescit*; though *aureus*, 'bright', is a common epithet of heavenly bodies and of the sky (*OLD* s.v. *aureus*[1] 4).

rarissima templa: no temple of Aurora is known.

589 tamen: in spite of being *omnibus inferior* (587).

589–90 diesque | ... sacrificos: festal days dedicated to a particular god, when sacrificial offerings would be burnt on the temple altars.

591 femina: concessive, 'although I am only a woman'.

592 noctis confinia seruo 'I preserve the boundaries of night' (Melville (1986)): i.e. my regular appearance prevents night from encroaching on day.

593–4 sed non ea cura neque hic est | nunc status Aurorae 'but at the moment that is not my concern, and my condition [of being a bereaved mother] is not such, that ...' Aurora speaks of herself in the third person for added dignity: cf. 17–18n. The alternation of *hic* and *is* is not unusual in verse; here it is metrically convenient.

596 patruo: Priam was Memnon's paternal uncle: 576n.

primisque sub annis 'while he was still very young'. See 587–99n. In an expression such as this *sub* does not differ in meaning from *in*: see *OLD* s.v. *sub* 12a.

597 sic uos uoluistis: see p. 28 n. 113. The words suggest that, since it was the gods' will that Memnon should die, they ought to do something for him by way of compensation.

599 uulnera: metaphorical: cf. 495.

600 Iuppiter adnuerat: similarly after Thetis' appeal (587–99n.) 'Zeus son of Cronus nodded his dark brows ...' (*Il.* 1.528).

600–1 arduus alto | corruit igne rogus: the high-built funeral pyre collapsed and sent flames leaping up into the sky. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.226 *conlapsi cineres.*

601 nigrique and 604 *atra*, as well as being colours suitable for mourning, probably allude to the fact that Memnon was black-skinned (*Am.* 1.8.3–4, 13.31–2).

602 infecere diem: it is as if the 'boundaries of day and night' are no longer being 'preserved' (592).

natas: if this is the correct reading, the picture is of a river which gives off the mists 'born *from it*' and prevents the rays of the sun from penetrating to the earth; but to understand the words *a se* is not easy. *natas* contributes little to the sense, but might be defended as foreshadowing *natalis origo* (609) and *cineri cognata sepulto* (615); moreover, Ovid is very fond of line-endings with assonance of repeated syllables, with or without variation of quantity: cf. in this passage alone 601 *uolumina fumi*, 608 *sonuere sorores*, 613 *aduncis unguibus*, 616 *meminere creatas*, 622 *rorat in orbe*; cf. 619n. But several of the proposed conjectures seem attractive, in particular *lentas* (Postgate), *latas* (Burman – less good for the sense but closer to the transmitted reading), and *caecas* (B. Harries *per litteras*: cf. 10.476, 14.816–17 *nubibus aëra caecis | occuluit*, Virg. *Aen.* 3.203–4, 8.252–4).

The simile appears to be inspired by a passage in Lucretius, where the poet illustrates the behaviour of atoms lighter than those which make up the earth:

> aurea cum primum gemmantis rore per herbas
> matutina rubent radiati lumina solis
> exhalantque lacus nebulam fluuiique perennes
> ipsaque ut interdum tellus fumare uidetur ... (5.461–4)

Line 461 seems to allude to two etymologies of *aurora* found also in the Ovidian Memnon episode: *aurea* (587n.) and *rore* (622n.) together in the description of dawn are probably not coincidental.

604–8 The metamorphosis from smoke and ashes to living creature is described in language which by its ambiguity enacts the doubt of an observer or gradual resolution into a recognisable animate

shape: *uolat* (604) is applicable to both bird and ashes; *corpus* (604) is not unusual of a mass; *faciem* (605) means 'shape' as well as 'features'; *calor* (605) is a property of ashes as well as of a living body. *similis* (607) draws attention to these qualities of the bird already inherent in the smoke. The description focuses first on a single bird, then reveals that there were many more.

606 sua 'that was natural to it'.

607 uolucri ... uolucris: cognate with *uolare* (604). For the varying scansion see 100, 268–9, 319, 764 nn.

608 insonuit ... sonuere: 345n. In line 610 a third form, *consonus*, is used.

611 ter plangor: the birds fly round the pyre in an equivalent of the ceremonial purificatory procession (*lustratio*) which normally took place round the tomb immediately after burial. The *plangor*, or sound of their wings flapping in unison (cf. 608 *insonuit pennis*), is interpreted as being equivalent to the ritual breast-beating of human mourners. It is very common in ritual for an act to be performed three times (952n.): cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.506 *magna manes ter uoce uocaui.*

plangor refers to the beating of the birds' wings (*Am.* 2.6.3 *plangite pectora pinnis*), but also means 'lamentation' (*OLD* s.v. 2). A minority of MSS have *clangor* or *clamor*, either of which is possible; for *clangor* cf. *Il.* 3.2 κλαγγῆι τ' ἐνοπῆι τε.

seducunt castra 'they divide their forces'. See, however, p. 29 n. 119.

612–19 The birds fight each year above Memnon's tomb, and the losers are taken to be victims sacrificed in his memory (615 *inferiaeque cadunt*). *parentali ... uoce* (619) alludes to the annual Roman festival of the Parentalia (13–21 February), when sacrifices were made to the dead. It had long been the custom to hold games in honour of the dead (*Iliad* 23, *Aeneid* 5); in 264 BC gladiators were introduced to Rome from Etruria for the *ludi funebres* of D. Iunius Pera, and gladiatorial contests became a regular feature of the Parentalia. If, as seems likely, gladiators regularly paraded before their performances and cried out words such as those recorded by Suetonius (*aue, imperator, morituri te salutant*: *Claud.* 21.6), then Ovid's *moriturae* is a further hint at the gladiatorial nature of the birds' combat. The anthropomorphism is first hinted at by *populi* (612). For further possible etymological plays see McKeown (1989) on *Am.* 1.13.3–4.

612 diuersa . . . de parte 'from different sides' = *diuersis de partibus* or *partibus factis*: poetic singular for plural.

614 aduersaque pectora lassant: they attack each other's breasts and eventually wear each other out. Some MSS read *iactant*, which well suits the movements of fighting birds (*OLD* s.v. 7) and perhaps follows on better from *exercent*; but *lassant* better suits the gladiatorial imagery.

615 inferiaeque cadunt: as offerings to the dead they literally fall from the air; but they fall also in the sense that a sacrificial victim 'falls' on being killed.

615–16 cineri cognata sepulto | corpora: ashes to ashes, as it were. With *sepulto* Ovid seems to have moved on from the particular situation of Memnon's still flaming pyre to the commemorative behaviour of the birds over his tomb in later years.

616 meminere: the resemblance of this word in sound to *Memnonides* (618) reinforces the notion that their annual appearance commemorates the death of Memnon.

617 praepetibus 'birds'; but the fact that the word is associated with augury makes it particularly apt in this context. It may be relevant, too, that the east, the direction from which the birds arrive each year, was the favourable part of the sky for auguries.

subitis: they suddenly appeared from the smoke and ashes. Ovid often uses *subitus* in descriptions of metamorphosis: cf. 5.559–60 *artus | uidistis uestros subitis flauescere pennis*, 7.372 *subitus . . . olor*, and see *OLD* s.v. 4.

618 Memnonides: plural of the feminine patronymic *Memnonis*.

618–19 cum sol duodena peregit | signa: i.e. after a year, when the signs of the zodiac once more occupy the same places in the sky. *duodena*, the distributive adjective, had already been used by Virgil with reference to the constellations (*Geo.* 1.232). The distributive force is very weak.

619 parentali moriturae uoce rebellant 'they renew their warfare, destined to die with a cry such as was made by their parents'. The word order suggests that the ablative phrase should be governed by the participle, and makes less likely the translation 'destined to die, they renew their warfare with the traditional cry'. The phrase *parentali . . . uoce*, if correct, will refer at once to the cry of the birds as they fight, to the ritual calling of the names of the dead at

the Parentalia, and to the customary cry of gladiators (H–E–A; see 612–19n.). But the text is by no means certain. (1) To many critics the phrase *parentali moriturae uoce* has seemed unacceptably awkward and obscure. Some manuscripts read *more* for *uoce* ('destined to die as their father did'). This seems acceptable, if less nuanced, but doubts remain: *more* might have arisen in error from the first syllable of the preceding *moriturae*. (Arguments of this sort are, however, double-edged, since Ovid affects such repetitions: see 602n.) (2) Some manuscripts have *parentali periturae morte*, and Heinsius proposed *parentali periturae Marte*, 'destined to perish in battle just like their parents'. This gives good sense; but if *moriturae* is abandoned so is the allusion to the gladiators' ritual cry *morituri te salutant* (612–19n.); and, as in the case of *more*, it seems possible that a scribe was affected by the preceding initial syllables (*peregit* and, perhaps, *parentali*). (3) Ovid had used similar language to refer to Aurora at *Am.* 1.13.3–4, where the poet is keen for the night not to end: *quo properas, Aurora? mane: sic Memnonis umbris | annua sollemni caede parentet auis* ('Where are you hurrying, Aurora? Stay! Then may Memnon's bird perform each year rites for the dead with pious sacrifice'). On the basis of that passage, Slater proposed to read here *parentali moriturae caede*. This has the advantage of preserving the gladiatorial reference, and it may be right.

620–2 These lines mark off the Memnonid section by alluding to 576–9, where Aurora was said to have no time to grieve for Hecuba's plight.

620 ergo begins the concluding sentence, as in lines 61 and 159.

latrasse: a rather briefly expressed summary of Hecuba's condition, echoing the beginning of the episode at lines 576–9. The compression is typical of Ovid's management of such transitional or bridging passages: cf. 623–31n.

Dymantida: Hecuba, daughter of the Trojan king Dymas. Ovid here follows Homer (*Il.* 16.718) rather than Euripides, who calls her daughter of Cisseus (*Hec.* 3; followed by Virg. *Aen.* 7.320, 10.705). Other claimants are recorded in the note of Frazer (1921) on Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.5. The question seems to have been notorious for sterile debate among scholars: Suetonius records that Tiberius would entertain himself by asking his favourite *grammatici*, amongst other things, the name of Hecuba's mother (*Tib.* 70). Cf. 162–80n.

621–2 The episode closes with two further etymological allusions to Aurora's name (cf. n. on 587 *aureus*): *luctibus* (621) is probably to be linked with *lux*, the gloom of her grieving (581–2) being an absence of light (Isid. *Diff.* 1.227, *PL* 83.34 *lugentes . . . dicti, quasi luce egentes, unde et luctus* [v.l. *lucus*] *dicitur*: Maltby (1991) 349), and *rorat* (622) points the connexion with the dew which is taken to be her tears (*Ars* 3.180, *Fasti* 3.403–4, Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.34–5, Serv. *auct. Aen.* 1.489, Bömer on 9.368–9) – as if *morning* were the same as *mourning*. Cf. 643n. The link with *ros* is further emphasised by the juxtaposition *totO RORAt*, which sounds like her name and almost spells it out.

622 nunc quoque 'to this very day'. Expressions of this sort are often used by Ovid and in Greek aetiological poetry to provide evidence from the present for an event in the past. There is parallelism, in words if not in sense, with the end of the Hecuba episode (571 *tum quoque*; see n.).

623–31 A passage with details familiar from the *Aeneid* forms a transition from the events in Troy and Thrace to the landing of Aeneas' fugitive ships on the island of Delos. Lines 626–31, a long simple sentence, smoothly bring forward the narrative to its next point of departure. Cf. 382–98, 558–64, 705–18nn. On Ovid's *Aeneid* in general see pp. 7, 22 n. 93.

623–4 Troiae belongs to both *moenibus* (sc. *suis*) and *spem*.

623 euersam Troiae: for the juxtaposition of these words see 169n. Here the context suggests that *euersam* is an echo of Virg. *Aen.* 3.1–3 *postquam res Asiae Priamique <u>euertere</u> gentem | immeritam uisum superis, ceciditque superbum | <u>Ilium</u> . . .*

624 fata sinunt: the fates are prominent at the opening of *Aeneid* Book 3 (7 *incerti quo fata ferant*, 9 *pater Anchises dare fatis uela iubebat*); cf. 627n.

624–5 sacra et, sacra altera, patrem | fert umeris: Aeneas, according to Virgil, left Troy bearing on his shoulders his father, who in turn held the *penates* of Troy: *Aen.* 2.707–8 *ergo age, care pater, ceruici imponere nostrae; | ipse subibo umeris*, 717 *tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque penatis*. Ovid draws attention to the parallel symbolism by describing Anchises, too, as *sacra*. In the *Fasti*, composed contemporaneously with the *Met.*, he twice has a similar description: 1.527–8 *iam pius Aeneas sacra et, sacra altera, patrem | adferet*; 4.37–8 *Aeneas, pietas spectata per ignes, | sacra patremque umeris, altera sacra, tulit.*

625 uenerabile onus: *onus* is used of Anchises at Virg. *Aen.* 2.723, 729. The juxtaposition of *uenerabile* with *Cythereïus* suggests an etymology from *Venus*, *Veneris*, Venus being mother of Aeneas by Anchises.

Cythereïus heros: *Cytherea* is a name applied to Venus several times in the *Aeneid* (1.257, etc.). It was at the island of Cythera that she was born from the sea-foam.

626 The line is deeply ironical, the choosing of 'spoils' being applicable to a victor rather than to an exile.

pius 'dutifully'. *pius* is the characteristic epithet for Aeneas in the *Aeneid* (1.220, etc.), emphasising his devotion to duty.

eligit: the emphasis on choice is perhaps a reference to a story that the victorious Greeks allowed each Trojan to take away one possession; Aeneas aroused such admiration when he chose his household gods that he was given a further choice, whereupon he took away his father (Ael. *Var. hist.* 3.22).

627 Ascaniumque suum 'his beloved son Ascanius', who walked at the side of Aeneas as he carried Anchises from Troy (Virg. *Aen.* 2.723–4).

profugaque . . . classe: for *profugus* see 624n. At the very beginning of the *Aeneid* its hero is described as *fato profugus* (1.2).

628 fertur ab Antandro: Antandros, a town in the Troad on the lower slopes of the thickly wooded Mt Ida, is said by Virgil to have provided Aeneas with timber for his fleet: *classemque sub ipsa | Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae, | incerti quo fata ferant* (*Aen.* 3.5–7).

628–30 scelerataque . . . | linquit: these words refer to the story just narrated (533–71), but do so in language borrowed from the Virgilian Polydorus episode: at *Aen.* 3.60 Thrace, the land where he was murdered, is called *scelerata . . . terra*, and with the words *manantem sanguine terram* (629) Ovid echoes the Virgilian *cruor de stipite manat* (*Aen.* 3.43) which refers to the horrid miracle (omitted by Ovid) described in 537n. Polydorus is thus a link between the Hecuba and Anius episodes, between tragedy and epic.

628 litora: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.16 *litore curuo*, 21 *mactabam in litore taurum*, 44 *fuge litus auarum*. Some manuscripts read *limina*, which might be taken as a reference to Virg. *Aen.* 3.61 *linqui pollutum hospitium*; but *litora* better suits the maritime context and provides a characteris-

tic variation with *terram* (629); and *Thracum* suggests a more general guilt than that of Polymestor, which is dealt with in the following line.

630–1 aestuque secundo | . . . urbem: these words seem to echo Virg. *Aen.* 10.687–8 (Turnus swimming) *labitur alta secans fluctuque aestuque secundo | et patris antiquam Dauni defertur ad urbem*; for *urbem* cf. in addition the description of Aeneas' landing at Delos at the beginning of the Virgilian Anius episode: *egressi ueneramur Apollinis urbem* (*Aen.* 3.79).

630 utilibus uentis aestuque secundo 'with wind and wave both favouring', a single integrated phrase.

631 Apollineam . . . urbem: the town of Delos on the island of that name, birthplace and cult centre of Apollo.

632–3 The opening of the Anius episode pointedly echoes Virgil's account: *Aen.* 3.80–3 (lines immediately following the words quoted in 630–1n.) *rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phoebique sacerdos,* | . . . | *occurrit;* . . . | *iungimus hospitio dextras et tecta subimus.* As is often his practice, Ovid draws attention to his source before moving away to a novel aspect of the story: cf. p. 35.

The Virgilian anaphora of *rex* has been replaced by syllepsis, a favourite Ovidian figure, in which a word is applied literally to one thing and metaphorically to another: *colebatur* suits *Phoebus* well, but understood as the verb with *homines* it is more difficult to translate ('were provided for'?). Here the figure is complicated further by the fact that *colebatur* must be taken to imply *colebantur* (read in some manuscripts) as verb for *homines*: in compound sentences the verb tends to agree with the nearer subject.

632 quo rege . . . antistite 'under whose kingship and priesthood' (though the two categories cannot always be separated neatly): instrumental ablative, or possibly ablative absolute.

antistite Phoebus: 410n.

633 temploque domoque recepit: *domo recepit* renders Virgil's *tecta subimus* (632–3n.; cf. 638), and *templo* follows in Virgil's next line: *Aen.* 3.84 *templa dei* . . . *uenerabar.*

634 delubraque nota: Delos had 'famous temples' of Apollo, his twin sister Artemis (Diana), and their mother Leto (Latona).

635 stirpes . . . retentas: on Delos visitors were shown the stumps of two trees which Latona was said to have gripped during

the pangs of birth. At 6.335 Ovid says that they were an olive and a palm.

Strictly speaking, the words *Latona pariente* are ablative absolute; but in fact the trees were gripped *by* Latona, and *a* has to be understood.

With the words *stirpes pariente* Ovid seems to allude to Apollo's opening words to Aeneas at Virg. *Aen.* 3.94–6 *Dardanidae duri, quae uos a stirpe parentum | prima tulit tellus, eadem uos ubere laeto | accipiet reduces: antiquam exquirite matrem*, though the meaning is there quite different ('from the stock of your ancestors'). Cf. 678n.

636–7 A tricolon crescendo: three ablative absolute clauses, each longer than the last, briefly sketch the sacrificial ritual: incense is scattered on the altar-flames, which are extinguished with a libation of wine; animals are killed, and their inedible parts burnt as an offering to the gods. Bömer acutely points out that ancient readers had been troubled by Virgil's omission of any such pious act by Aeneas before his peremptory prayer to Apollo (*Aen.* 3.85, Serv. *auct. ad loc.*). Ovid again supplements his model.

638 regia tecta petunt: 633n.

positique tapetibus altis 'placed, i.e. reclining, on high-piled rugs': cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.325–6 *tapetibus altis | exstructus toto proflabat pectore somnum.*

639 Baccho: used metonymically (as often) for wine. The line states in high epic language that they ate and drank. It is a form of Golden Line (AbaB).

640 tum pius Anchises: Anchises, the old friend of Anius (641n.), naturally starts the conversation, but the words *tum pius* in this context lead us to expect that Aeneas is about to be described (626n.). Bömer suggests that Ovid plays on the fact that the adjective was regularly applied to Anchises in early Latin poetry (e.g. Enn. *Ann.* 30 Skutsch). The word may equally be seen as part of the supplementation of Virgil discussed in 636–7n.

lecte: the meanings 'chosen' and 'choice' (*OLD* s.v. 1, 2) cannot always be differentiated: if Apollo chose Anius as his priest, then he must be an excellent character. There is no evidence that he was elected (H–E–A, citing Virg. *Aen.* 2.201).

641–2 fallor, an . . . quantum reminiscor: the words *quantum*

reminiscor are probably inspired by *Aen.* 3.107 *si rite audita recordor*. Cf. 705n. and see p. 30.

641 cum primum haec moenia uidi: we are expected to remember from Virgil that Anchises is an old friend of Anius (*Aen.* 3.82 *ueterem Anchisen agnouit amicum*); cf. 708n.

643 niueis circumdata tempora uittis: the priest wears a headband of white wool, a colour often prescribed for ritual because of its purity and lack of stain. Ovid echoes the Virgilian account, in which however Anius has a garland of laurel, Apollo's special tree: *uittis et sacra redimitus tempora lauro* (*Aen.* 3.81).

643–4 tempora . . . | concutiens et tristis: possibly an allusion to the etymology of Anius' name, *anīā* being Greek for 'trouble' or 'distress': schol. Lycophron, *Alex.* 580, Scheer (1908) 197–8 'his mother called him Anius because of the anxiety he had caused her'. Cf. 621–2n.

646 (tanta homines rerum inconstantia uersat): Anius refers to the proverbial fickleness of fortune. But in the *Metamorphoses* such an expression must support the idea that the world is one of constant change: *nihil est toto quod perstet in orbe* (15.177). The daughters of Anius are about to provide another illustration of that principle.

647–9 filius . . . Andros: see p. 30.

647–8 quod . . . | auxilium: sc. *est*.

649 Andros: an island near Euboea. It is the most northerly of the Cyclades, which form a circle round the island of Delos.

650 Delius: Apollo, the Delian god.

augurium 'the gift of divination'. This is another allusion to the Virgilian Anius episode: at *Aen.* 3.89 Aeneas prays to Apollo *da, pater, augurium*, 'give us an omen'. Again Ovid echoes Virgil's vocabulary but uses it in a different way: cf. 519n.

Liber: Bacchus, god of wine, who was called Liber *quia liberat seruitio curarum animum*, according to Seneca (*Dial.* 9.17.8): cf. Greek *Lyaios*, 'Liberator'. Other ancient sources give other etymologies: Maltby (1991) 337. The line is framed by the gods' names.

651–2 uoto maiora fideque | munera: probably poetic plural: 'to the females he gave another gift, greater than anyone could hope for or believe'.

652 tactu: like Midas, whose story is told at 11.85–193. He, too,

had his gift from Bacchus. The daughters of Anius have the power to transform things, and will later themselves be transformed.

653 On the names of Anius' daughters see p. 31. *laticem* governs both *meri* and *canaeque Mineruae*, a metonymic expression (cf. 639n.) for the olive oil from the tree of which Minerva (Athena) was the patron. *-que* ... *-que* are here disjunctive, 'either ... or' (*OLD* s.v. 7).

canaeque: equivalent to the Greek adjective *glaukós* (for which see 288, 913nn.), often applied to the leaves of the olive. *canaeque* is the reading of only one MS, the others having *bacamque*, a noun in series with *segetem* and *laticem* ... *meri*, which gives an attractive tripartite structure to the line; but Elais produced olive-oil, not olives, and it seems unlikely that *bacam* could stand for *oleum*.

654 transformabantur: this spondaic word gives an extraordinarily heavy beginning to the line. At line 112 *debilitaturum*, of a similar length, has a dactyl and carries more emphasis; at 11.670 *indeploratum* matches sound to sense. Other examples in the *Met.* are mostly Greek proper names.

diuesque erat usus in illis '– and very profitable they were!' It is perhaps relevant, given the context, that *diues* was thought to be related to *deus*: Varro, *L.* 5.92 *diues a diuo qui ut deus nihil indigere uidetur* (Maltby (1991) 192).

illis: the daughters.

656–7 (ne non ... putes) 'lest you should think that we too had not to some extent experienced the storm of troubles felt by you (lit. 'your storm')'. For the figurative use of *procella* see *OLD* s.v. 2a.

658 abstrahit ... gremio genitoris: cf. 450 *rapta sinu matris*.

alantque: *impero* is sometimes constructed paratactically with the jussive subjunctive without *ut* or *ne*: see *OLD* s.v. 4b. Poets particularly favoured constructions of this type, which by cutting out words of grammatical subordination concentrate the sense and accelerate the narrative.

659 Argolicam 'Greek'. Argolis was an area in the Peloponnese containing Agamemnon's city, Mycenae; but the adjective *Argolicus* is often used by epic poets simply to mean 'Greek'. Cf. 554n.

660–1 duabus | ... natis: dative of the agent, with *petita est*.

661 Andros fraterna: perhaps modelled on Virgil's *Delum maternam* (*Aen.* 4.144). On Andros see p. 30. In Latin islands are of the feminine gender.

662 miles: i.e. a force sent by Agamemnon. Collective singular.

663 uicta metu pietas: fear overcame his brotherly love. The fate of the other two sisters is not mentioned; we assume that a similar force had been sent to Euboea.

consortia: cf. 615–16 *cognata* ... | *corpora*. Here the sense is concessive: 'though they were his own flesh and blood'.

663–4 poenae | dedidit: the subject, *frater*, is to be understood from *fratri* in line 664, or from the implied active subject of *dedantur* (662). He handed them over to be punished for having absconded.

665–6 These lines echo Virg. *Aen.* 11.288–90 (Venulus reports the words of Diomedes) *quidquid apud durae cessatum est moenia Troiae,* | *Hectoris Aeneaeque manu uictoria Graium* | *haesit et in decimum uestigia rettulit annum* ('whatever stalemate there was at the stubborn walls of Troy, it was due to the right hands of Hector and Aeneas that a Greek victory was delayed and dragged its feet until the tenth year' – Gransden (1991)). *durae* has suggested *durastis*.

665 hic: adverb.

668 libera: a hint at the divine intervention to come; cf. 650n. on *Liber*. A similar point seems to be hinted at in the similarity of *bracchia* and *Bacche* in the following line.

669–71 The triple repetition *fer opem, tulitque* ... *opem, ferre* ... *opem* is probably, as Bömer notes, designed to suggest a formal threefold invocation of a divinity (cf. 611n.).

669 Bacche pater: although many male gods are addressed as *pater*, the title was given particularly to Bacchus in the Latin address *Liber pater* (Serv. on Virg. *Geo.* 2.4).

670 muneris auctor: cf. 650–2 *dedit* ... *munera*.

670–1 si miro perdere more | ferre uocatur opem: Anius is not enthusiastic about the transformation: his daughters have been saved from punishment by the Greeks, but they are lost to him (cf. 673 *mali*).

uocatur 'can be called'.

671–2 nec ... possum: another variation on the metamorphosis theme (see pp. 2–3): Anius cannot say how it happened, and Ovid jokily spares us the detail of another bird-metamorphosis.

673–4 tuaeque | coniugis: Venus (625n.); Anius, perhaps by way of an acid comment, dignifies her with the title *coniunx*, though

the conjoining of Venus and Anchises was, according to the best-known account, only a brief liaison (*Homeric hymn to Aphrodite*).

674 The straightforward order would be *inque niueas columbas, coniugis tuae uolucres, abiere.*

niueas ... columbas: the dove was Venus' sacred bird: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.190–3 *geminae ... columbae | ... uenere* [n.b.] ... | ... *tum maximus heros | maternas agnouit aues.* At 14.597 Venus travels, as is her custom, in a chariot drawn by doves. According to Servius it was because of the transformation of Anius' daughters into doves that these birds were not allowed to be harmed on the island of Delos.

675–6 conuiuia ... | implerunt: the banquet was filled with talk.

676 mensa ... remota: at the end of a meal the tables on which the food had been served were removed. The phrase is Virgilian: *Aen.* 1.216 = 723 *mensaeque remotae.*

678 petere antiquam matrem: a quotation from the oracle given by Apollo to Aeneas at Virg. *Aen.* 3.94–6 (quoted in 635n.). The oracle is misunderstood by Anchises, who thinks that it refers to Crete; in fact it refers to Latium, since (according to Virgil) Dardanus, son of Zeus and founder of Troy, set out from there for the Troad (*Aen.* 7.205–11).

cognataque: the Italians are kin to the Trojans.

679 dat munus ituris: in the world of heroic poetry from Homer onwards it is a custom for the host to hand over parting gifts to his guests. Virgil does not mention any leave-taking from Delos (merely *Aen.* 3.124 *linquimus Ortygiae portus pelagoque uolamus*); at *Aen.* 3.484, however, Ascanius is given a *chlamys* by Andromache.

680–1 sceptrum, chlamydem pharetramque ... | cratera: all Greek words.

681 cratera: mixing-bowls for wine, which could be very large and elaborately decorated, were suitable as impressive guest-gifts. Ovid's inspiration for his description of the *crater* is probably Virg. *Aen.* 5.535–8, where in the funeral games for Anchises an embossed *crater* which the old man had been given is awarded as a prize: *ipsius Anchisae longaeui hoc munus habebis, | cratera impressum signis, quem Thracius olim | Anchisae genitori in magno munere Cisseus | ferre sui dederat monimentum et pignus amoris.* That description is in its turn inspired by *Il.* 23.740–7, where in the funeral games for Patroclus Achilles sets

up as first prize in the foot-race a silver *crater* with a distinguished provenance.

quondam: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5.536 (quoted above) *olim*.

miserat: here most editors print *transtulit*, which is read by only a single MS, albeit an important one (M). But the pluperfect tense suits the context better, and the repetition in line 683 is more effective if the verb, too, is repeated.

682 ab Aoniis . . . Ismenius: Aonia = Boeotia. The chief town of Boeotia was Thebes, which is to feature in the scenes depicted on the bowl. The river Ismenus flowed by Thebes. More recherché synonyms: cf. 13, 44, 92, 107, 530, 705nn.

Therses: otherwise unknown; possibly invented by Ovid.

683–4 fabricauerat Alcon | †nileus† et . . . caelauerat: cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 3.36–7, where Menalcas offers up as stake in a singing contest *pocula* . . . | *fagina, caelatum diuini opus Alcimedontis*. (For a further allusion to *Ecl.* 3 see 701n.) Ovid has changed Alcimedon, an unknown artist perhaps invented by Virgil, to Alcon, a well known Hellenistic producer of drinking-cups (Damoxenus, *PCG* 1.2–4, vol. 5 pp. 1–2 K–A, [Virg.] *Culex* 67), and (if *hyleus*, the reading of some manuscripts, is near the truth) has made him a native of the Boeotian town Hyle; a place called Hyle had been associated by Homer with another notable craftsman, Tychius, who made the shield of Ajax (*Il.* 7.221–2, quoted in 2n.). Bömer suggests that because it was discussed in antiquity whether Tychius came from the Boeotian or the Lydian Hyle, Ovid is contributing to the debate by making him definitely Boeotian. This is an attractive idea, but it is difficult to incorporate in the text, since the adjective from *Hyle* is *Hylaeus* (cf. 8.312), and the reading *Hyleus* must be wrong. Possibly *Hylicus*, a form attested by Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Ὕλη) should be read. In addition to *Hyleus*, MSS offer *lidius* and *nileus*; *nileus* makes no sense, but *lidius* (i.e. *Lydius*) would be acceptable were it not that the Theban scenes lead one to expect a Boeotian Alcon; probably *lidius* is the conjecture of a learned reader who knew of the ancient debate about Tychius (for learned corruption cf. 294 *urbes*, 693–4n.). Lactantius Placidus in his summary of the story reads not *Lydius* but *Lindius*. Lindus was a Rhodian town, and Pliny briefly mentions a statue-maker called Alcon from Rhodes (*Nat.* 34.141); but that does not seem sufficient grounds for preferring *Lindius* here.

For the verb *caelo* see 110n.

684 argumento 'narrative' (*OLD* s.v. 6a), an unpoetic word used twice by Lucretius, once by Virgil, but eight times by Ovid. At Virg. *Aen.* 7.791 the design on Turnus' shield is called *argumentum ingens*. Ovid again uses the word at line-end at 6.69. In the *Met.* he is sparing in his use of spondaic fifth feet, especially in words not of Greek origin.

685–6 The seven gates identify the city as Thebes; they are its chief characteristic in Homer (*Il.* 4.406, *Od.* 11.263) and in later literature.

pro 'in place of': *OLD* s.v. 6a.

687 ignesque rogique: a hendiadys, equivalent to *ignes rogorum*.

688 effusaeque comas et apertae pectora: 534, 491nn.

689–90 nymphae . . . fontes: since nymphs are often to be seen as personifications of the springs which they inhabit, the image here is in a way paradoxical: the fact that their springs are dry makes them weep (= flow).

689 flere uidentur 'are seen to weep': the words are in series with *hae pro nomine erant* (686) and *significant* (689) as describing the effect produced by the artist.

690–1 Nature shares in the general grief: the 'pathetic fallacy' familiar especially from pastoral poetry, where the sounds and appearance of places and animals are said to occur in sympathy with the grief or joy of those who live in or care for them: cf. 48, 581–2, 785–6, 877nn. Here the scene is one of barren misery.

691 riget 'stood starkly', with overtones of bleakness and cold.

rodunt arentia saxa capellae: the goats, which are accustomed to graze on the mountains, find nothing to eat but poor moss and lichens on the rocks. Some MSS have *lambunt*; but *arentia* is a sort of transferred epithet: what they nibbled was dry and withered.

692 ecce: all seemed lost when behold! their saviours were at hand.

facit 'causes to . . .', i.e. 'represents'. In ecphrastic descriptions of this type the present tense is often used to make more vivid the process of creation, though here it seems unusual after the pluperfects *fabricauerat* (683) and *caelauerat* (684). It governs the infinitives *dare* (693), *cecidisse* (695), *exire* (697) and *ducere* (699), as often in descrip-

tions of works of art: see Fordyce (1977) on Virg. *Aen.* 8.630–1 *fecerat* . . . | *procubuisse lupam.*

natas Orione 'the daughters of Orion' – ablative of origin (cf. 717). They are described separately below as *hanc* (693) and *illam* (694).

693–4 It is difficult to extract coherent sense from any combination of transmitted readings in these lines, and Bentley was probably right to delete them: line 695 follows on well from 692, Alcon having represented the aftermath of the girls' deaths. The chief objection to lines 693–4 is that they confuse the picture: *hanc* and *illam* ought to contrast two modes of death, but whereas 693 with *dare* depicts the moment of death, 694–5 with the perfect tense *cecidisse* suggest that not the moment of death but only the funeral was shown. In line 693 *pectus*, the reading of some MSS, can hardly be right as object of *dare*. In line 694 some MSS have *per inertia uulnera telo*, which seems to be a reference to the shuttles with which the girls killed themselves (i.e. *uulnera inerti telo facta*); but the epithet is strangely transferred, and *uulnera* seems in any case unlikely after *uulnus* in line 693. For *demisso* . . . *telo* Bentley suggested *demissa* . . . *tela*; but *tela* means 'loom', not 'shuttle', for which the Latin is *radius*. Madvig's suggestion *demisso per inerti pectora telo* produces good sense, but the word-order is unacceptably contorted.

Probably the lines are an addition by a reader in antiquity keen to import details of the girls' deaths as recorded in accounts like that of Antoninus Liberalis (see pp. 32–3); for such interpolations cf. 294, 404–7, 683–4nn. The interpolator seems to have been inspired by the earlier Polyxena episode: 451 *plus quam femina uirgo*, 458–9 *iugulo uel pectore telum* | *conde meo*; 488 *corpus complexa animae tam fortis inane*, 495 *uideoque tuum, mea uulnera, uulnus* (v.l. *pectus*).

In partial defence of the lines it could be argued that *non femineum* and *fortia pectora* characteristically foreshadow the metamorphosis with which the story concludes.

696 celebrique in parte cremari: as a mark of honour their funeral pyres were built in the market-place, the most 'frequented part' of the town.

698–9 quos fama Coronos | nominat: see p. 34. The majority of MSS read *Coronas*; but the metamorphosis of sex is better signalled with a masculine ending.

699 ducere pompam: i.e. lead the funeral procession from pyre to tomb.

700 'Thus far [on the bowl] the chased images gleamed in ancient bronze': the ablative absolute governs the descriptive ablative *antiquo ... aere*. Ancient Greek bronze pieces were particularly prized by Roman collectors.

701 summus ... crater 'the rim of the bowl'.

inaurato ... erat asper acantho: these words are probably inspired by Virgil's description of the drinking-cup at *Ecl.* 3.44–5 *Alcimedon duo pocula fecit | et molli circum est ansas amplexus acantho*: Alcimedon has suggested Alcon (683–4n.), and *molli* has been inverted to *asper*, which is a technical term for the effect of embossing: see *OLD* s.v. 2a. The plant itself is pliant, but its effect on the cup is to make the rim rough rather than smooth. The source for Virgil's description is the cup in Theocritus' first Idyll: 'all around the cup is spread pliant acanthus' (55).

703 dantque sacerdoti: there may be etymological play here: Isid. *Orig.* 7.12.17 (Maltby (1991) 537) *sacerdos ... quasi sacrum dans*.

-que: the epexegetic use (*OLD* s.v. 6), 'that is'.

704 claramque auro gemmisque coronam is an allusion to Virg. *Aen.* 1.655 *duplicem gemmis auroque coronam*. There it describes one of the few possessions which Aeneas in his haste is able to save from the ruins of Troy; Ovid here seems to be telling its subsequent fate. *coronam* both underlines the glory of the Coroni and has Aeneas make the neat exchange of a *corona* for a pair of Coroni (the bowl).

705–18 Another swift narrative passage, alluding briefly (cf. 713 *praeter ... uecti*) to elements of the story familiar from the *Aeneid* and adding some incidental metamorphoses.

705–6 At Virg. *Aen.* 3.103–17 Anchises, in response to Apollo's instruction *antiquam exquirite matrem* (635, 678nn.), urges Aeneas to sail for Crete, since he remembers that Teucer, ancestor of the Trojans (not the half-brother of Ajax: 157n.), came from there. His suggestion is followed, but the Trojans' attempt to found a settlement on Crete is frustrated by sickness and drought. The *penates* then appear to Aeneas in a dream and reveal that Italy, original homeland of Dardanus, is his true destination (*Aen.* 3.121–71).

705 recordati: an allusion to Anchises' words, in connexion

with the legend of Teucer, *si rite audita recordor* (*Aen.* 3.107). Cf. 641–2n.

Teucros . . . Teucri: the Trojans are not called Teucrian by Homer, but Aeschylus calls Troy 'the Teucrian land' (*Agam.* 112), and later poets use the word as a synonym for *Troiani.*

706 tenuere 'held their course for' (*OLD* s.v. 14), or perhaps 'reached' (ibid. 5; cf. 721). *ferre* supports the latter translation; but this is Ovid's 'fast-forward' style (382–98, 558–64, 623–31, 705–18nn.).

-que 'but': *OLD* s.v. 8.

707 Iouem: metonymy (cf. 653nn.) for the climate, Jupiter being god of the sky. Cf. 705–6n. The use is particularly apt here, since Crete claimed to be the birthplace of Zeus. In the Virgilian account, Aeneas is told *Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arua* (3.171).

One MS reads *luem* here; probably it is a correction by a learned reader who remembered Virgil's description of the Trojans' sufferings on Crete: *uenit* | *arboribusque satisque lues* (*Aen.* 3.138–9). A reference to Jupiter is more effective, and equally allusive.

707–8 centumque relictis | urbibus: ancient Crete traditionally had one hundred cities (*Il.* 2.649). Here Ovid alludes to the Virgilian account: *Aen.* 3.106 *centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna.*

708 Ausonios optant contingere portus: Ovid assumes knowledge of the Virgilian account, in which the *penates* appear to Aeneas (705–6n.). *Ausonius* = Italian; the line is an echo of *Aen.* 3.378 (from Helenus' prophecy, later in the same book) *Ausonio possis considere portu.* For *optant* cf. *Aen.* 3.109, 132, 509, 530 *crebrescunt optatae aurae portusque patescit.*

709 saeuit hiemps iactatque uiros: the storm is described at Virg. *Aen.* 3.192–204; cf. 194–5 *supra caput astitit imber* | *noctem hiememque ferens.* Aeneas was proverbially *terris iactatus et alto* (*Aen.* 1.3).

709–10 Strophadumque . . . Aello: these $1\frac{1}{2}$ lines dispose of the sixty-one Virgilian lines *Aen.* 3.209–69. There the Trojans land on the Strophades, two small islands off the west coast of the Peloponnese and south of Zacynthus. The meal which they had prepared is befouled by the Harpies. Aeneas instructs his men to launch an attack, but they do so without success; one of the Harpies, Celaeno, prophesies that the Trojans will reach their goal in Italy, but only

after extreme hunger has forced them to 'eat their own tables' (this is fulfilled at 7.109–10, where they eat their thin platters of bread).

710 infidis: the harbour seemed to be welcoming, but the Harpies subsequently showed that that first impression was not to be trusted. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.23 (Tenedos) *statio male fida carinis.*

exterruit refers to the frightening prophecy (709–10n.).

ales Aello: Aello ('Storm-wind') is named as one of the Harpies by Hesiod (*Theog.* 267); Virgil specified Celaeno (*Aen.* 3.211, 245).

711–13 These lines follow the Virgilian narrative in passing by Dulichium, etc., as quickly as possible: *Aen.* 3.270–3 *iam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zacynthos | Dulichiumque Sameque et Neritos ardua saxis. | effugimus scopulos Ithacae, Laërtia regna, | et terram altricem saeui exsecramur Vlixi.* Ovid's account, too, begins with *iam* (711). He omits Zacynthus and Laertes, and makes Ulysses *fallax* rather than *saeuus*, perhaps to accord better with Ajax' depiction of him earlier in the book (32 *furtis . . . fraude*, etc.).

711 Dulichios portus: 107n.

Samenque: Same and Samos are Homeric names for the island of Cephallenia (*Il.* 2.634, etc.). Here all the manuscripts read *Samonque*, but Heinsius was probably right to restore the -*e*- vowel from the Virgilian account (711–13n.), which Ovid closely follows in this section.

712 Neritiasque domus: the fact that Virgil's *Neritos* (711–13n.) is feminine (*ardua saxis*) shows that he conceived of it as an island (661n.), and Ovid follows him in this. In Homer, however, Neritos is a mountain on Ithaca (*Il.* 2.632, *Od.* 9.21–2). Probably Virgil mistakenly inferred that Neritos was an island from its being named together with the island of Ithaca in the description of Odysseus' contingent at Troy in the Iliadic Catalogue (2.631–7).

713 praeter erant uecti = *praeteruecti erant*: so-called tmesis, where the prepositional prefix of a verb is separated from its stem. Tmesis is much commoner in early Greek than in Latin.

713–15 certatam . . . | iudicis: Apollo, Artemis (Diana) and Hercules all claimed the right to be patron of the city of Ambracia. They chose as arbiter Cragaleus, an old shepherd famed for justice and wisdom. When the claimants had set out their cases, Cragaleus decided in favour of Hercules, and Apollo in disappointment turned him into a rock. The story was told by Nicander in his *Heteroeumena*

(see pp. 1, 32); there exists a prose summary by Antoninus Liberalis (ch. 4).

713 certatam 'fought over'. *certo* very occasionally governs an object; here that sense is used in the passive.

Ambraciam . . . uident: the town of Ambracia in NW Greece is in fact some seven miles inland from the Gulf; but Ovid is not concerned here with geographical niceties.

714–15 uersique uident sub imagine saxum | iudicis 'they saw the rock in the shape of the judge who had been transformed'.

715 Actiaco quae nunc ab Apolline nota est: Actium, a promontory at the southern entrance to the Gulf of Ambracia, had an ancient temple of Apollo. After Octavian defeated Antony and Cleopatra in a sea-battle there in 31 BC, he built a town called Nicopolis ('Victory City') on the opposite promontory, enlarged the Actian temple, and instituted celebratory games to be held every four years. Virgil treats Actium at some length: he has Aeneas stay there and celebrate games which are to be seen as the precursors of those later founded by Octavian (*Aen.* 3.278–89). Ovid, by contrast, literally gives Actium a passing glance. *quae* refers to *imagine.*

ab: causal (*OLD* s.v. 15).

716–18 Virgil's Aeneas does not visit the oracle at Dodona; Ovid follows a tradition which had him do so (Dion. Hal. *Antiqu. Rom.* 1.51.1), in order to mention another metamorphosis which took place in this same area. *Dodonida* is governed by *uident* (714); but the town was some forty miles inland, and Ovid cannot here mean that they glimpsed it as they passed: a detour must be intended, as Dionysius (*loc. cit.*) implies.

The oracle of Zeus at Dodona, reputed the oldest in Greece (Hdt. 2.52.2), had a grove of oak-trees sacred to the god; in Homer's time it seems that specially appointed priests called Selli translated the rustling of the leaves into responses for those who consulted the oracle (cf. *Il.* 16.233–5, *Od.* 14.327–8). The place was from the earliest times associated with doves, and Herodotus records that a dove from Egypt commanded that the oracle should be established (2.55.3). In later times there were three old priestesses called Doves (πελειάδες). See Strabo 7.7.10–12, and fr. of Book 7.

From the way in which Ovid links closely reference to Dodona and to birds, one might have expected that the metamorphosis was

an aetiology for the doves of Dodona (Virg. *Ecl.* 9.13 *Chaonias … columbas*), but in the only version of the story of the 'Molossian king' which we possess there is no reference to doves: Antoninus Liberalis (ch. 14), summarising part of a lost Hellenistic poem (possibly Boeus' *Ornithogonia*), tells how Munichus, king of the Molossi and a good and just prophet living with his wife, three sons, and a daughter, was attacked by robbers, who set fire to his house. Zeus, unwilling that such a pious family should perish, turned them all into birds so that they could escape the danger. This is therefore another bird metamorphosis, in series with those of Memnon and the daughters of Anius.

717 Chaoniosque: Chaonia was a coastal district of Epirus. Virgil, in his account of Aeneas' journey after Actium, says *protinus aërias Phaeacum abscondimus arces | litoraque Epiri legimus portuque subimus | Chaonio et celsam Buthroti accedimus urbem* (*Aen.* 3.291–3).

nati rege Molosso: for the ablative see 692n. Molossis was another region of Epirus, inland from Chaonia.

718 subiectis … pennis: i.e. furnished with wings.

719–20 Phaeacum … | rura: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.291 (quoted in 717n.), where *abscondimus* means 'lose from view', i.e. 'sail past'. The reference is to the island of Corcyra, which was believed in ancient times to be the idyllic kingdom of the Phaeacians visited by Ulysses and described at length in Book 7 of the *Odyssey* (Thuc. 1.25.4, 3.70.4).

719 felicibus obsita pomis: the fertile gardens of Alcinous, rich in fruits, are described at *Od.* 7.112–32. *obsita*, 'planted with', is from *obserere.* Ovid appears to have borrowed the expression from Lucr. 5.1377–8 *omnia, quae pomis intersita dulcibus ornant | arbustisque tenent felicibus obsita circum.*

720 petunt: probably 'made for' as a landmark on their journey, rather than 'landed at'; cf. 706n., 721.

720–3 These lines briefly summarise Virgil's long Helenus episode (*Aen.* 3.294–547). In Virgil the Trojans land at Buthrotum, a part of the coast opposite Corcyra, and hear that the prophet Helenus, son of Priam, is ruling over that part of Epirus, and is married to Andromache, the widow of Hector. Andromache tells Aeneas of what has happened to her since the fall of Troy; Helenus welcomes the Trojans and shows them the town which he has called Troy

(721n.). Aeneas consults Helenus about his voyage. Amongst other advice, Helenus warns the Trojans to avoid Scylla and Charybdis by sailing round Sicily; the gist of his prophecy is that, although many dangers are yet to be faced and Aeneas still has far to travel, he will at length successfully reach Italy (374–462). Although Helenus' prophecy is passed over here, Pythagoras adapts and quotes from it at *Met.* 15.431–52.

720 ab his 'next'.

721 simulataque Troia: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.349–50 *paruam Troiam simulataque magnis | Pergama . . . agnosco.*

tenetur 'is reached'. See 706n.

723 Priamides: 99n.

724 Sicaniam: an old name for Sicily, used occasionally by the poets.

linguis 'tongues of land': *OLD* s.v. 6a. The variant reading *pennis* probably originated in a scribal miscopying from the end of line 718; *pinnis* is a learned reader's attempt to improve on it. Neither word is used elsewhere of a promontory.

725–7 Pachynos . . . Lilybaeon . . . Peloros: respectively the south-eastern, western and north-eastern corners or capes of Sicily. All three are mentioned in Book 3 of the *Aeneid*: Pachynos at lines 429 (Helenus advises that it is better to go right round Sicily than risk encountering Scylla and Charybdis) and 699, Lilybaeum at 706, and Peloros at 411 and 687–8 (*ecce autem Boreas angusta ab sede Pelori | missus adest*).

725 imbriferos . . . ad Austros: in Italy and Greece the south wind brings rain: the Greek word for it, *notos*, is cognate with the words for 'snow' and 'wet'.

726–7 Arctos | aequoris expertes: the north, the region around the pole-star. Cf. n. on 293 *immunemque aequoris Arcton.*

728 huc: most editors print *hac*, 'by this route'; but the preceding lines are a description of the three corners of Sicily, not an itinerary. Ovid seems here to be alluding to Virg. *Aen.* 1.170–2 (the Trojans' arrival in Libya) *huc . . . Aeneas . . . subit, ac . . . optata potiuntur Troes arena.*

subeunt 'approached': a nautical term (*OLD* s.v. 6a).

remis aestuque secundo: cf. 630 *utilibus uentis aestuque secundo*, with n.

729 sub noctem 'at nightfall'.

Zanclaea ... harena: Zancle is an old name for Messana, a town located on the strait between Italy and Sicily a few miles south of Cape Pelorus. The word *zanklon* is Sicilian or Ligurian for 'sickle': the town's harbour was enclosed by a spit of land of that shape. Virgil does not have Aeneas reach here: he sails as far as Drepanum (curiously, another place named from a word for 'sickle'), just north of the western cape Lilybaeum, and is then blown off course to Libya.

730–1 Homer does not specify the exact location of the whirlpool Charybdis and the monster Scylla (*Od.* 12.73–110), but later tradition placed them in the Straits of Messana. Ovid here follows closely the Virgilian account, where Helenus advises Aeneas not to approach the straits: *dextrum Scylla latus, laeuum implacata Charybdis* | *obsidet* (*Aen.* 3.420–1). He has replaced *implacata* (which presumably refers to her insatiable appetite for ships) with an adjective expressing her constant motion, and has rearranged the opening words so that the first foot is a dactyl and *dextrum* and *laeuum* are juxtaposed at the caesura. In the next line *infestat* replaces *obsidet* (cf. *Am.* 2.11.18 *quas Scylla infestet quasue Charybdis aquas*); but the rhythm, with a sense-pause after the first word, is reminiscent of Virgil's.

732 atram 'deadly' (*OLD* s.v. 9); it seems less likely that the meaning is 'dark', and that the epithet is inspired by Virgil's phrase *caecis ... latebris* (*Aen.* 3.424), used of Scylla's cave. A few manuscripts read *imam*; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.427 *postrema* of Scylla's nether regions.

733–4 si non omnia uates | ficta reliquerunt: it was a commonplace that poetry could make lies seem like truth. Nevertheless, conditional expressions such as this one generally serve not to cast doubt on a statement, but to reinforce it (Stinton (1976) 60–89). Here the words draw attention to Ovid's use of source-material, to his role as narrator, and to the fictive nature of his work (Solodow (1988) 69–70, Galinsky (1975) 176–7).

Ovid was perhaps stimulated to use the words here by the speech Virgil gives to Helenus: immediately after he has advised Aeneas not to approach Scylla and Charybdis, he continues *praeterea, siqua est Heleno prudentia uati,* | *siqua fides, animum si ueris implet Apollo,* | ... | *Iunonis ... numen adora* (*Aen.* 3.433–7).

734 aliquo quoque tempore uirgo 'at one time she *was* a girl [sc. as well as having a girl's face]'.

735–9 The setting is reminiscent of Virg. *Geo.* 4.334–47, where the nymphs who accompany Cyrene are gathered together and listen to stories of love: *curam Clymene narrabat inanem | Volcani, Martisque dolos et dulcia furta, | aque Chao densos diuum numerabat amores* (345–7). Cf., too, 337 *caesariem effusae nitidam per candida colla.*

735 hanc ... illa: both pronouns refer to Scylla. She falls into the category of *superba puella* (cf. 966–7): cf. 1.478 (Daphne) *multi illam petiere*, 3.353 (Narcissus) *multi illum iuuenes, multae petiere puellae*, 12.404 (Cyllarus) *multae illum petiere sua de gente.* Her transformation will in part be a punishment for her previous behaviour.

736 pelagi gratissima nymphis: the repetition after *Nymphas* seems to have an explanatory force: she visited them because it was in their company that she was most welcome.

737 elusos: *eludere*, like *repellere* (735), is a word used often by Ovid in erotic contexts.

739 repetens suspiria 'heaving a deep sigh' (cf. 2.125). Some MSS have *referens,* perhaps suggested to a scribe by the narrative context: when introducing quotations *refero* = 'recall' or 'relate': cf. 747, *OLD* s.v. 18.

740 tamen gives the impression that we are breaking in on a conversation.

genus haud immite uirorum: the contrast is with Polyphemus, who is described as *immitis* in line 759.

741 utque facis 'as [indeed] you do'.

potes his impune negare: ironical, given the denouement of Scylla's story: see p. 41.

742 Nereus ... Doris: sea divinities, traditionally parents of the Nereids (Hes. *Theog.* 240–1).

caerula: cf. 895, 913n., 962.

743 turba ... sororum: the Nereids were fifty in number (Hes. *Theog.* 264).

tuta: she was protected by her distinguished parentage and by the fact that she was surrounded at all times by her sisters; but she could none the less be hurt and made to feel grief.

744 per luctus: through the death of Acis, which she is about to narrate. For *per* 'of attendant circumstances' see *OLD* s.v. 16.

746 marmoreo ... pollice: her hands were white as marble. Cf. Theoc. 6.37–8, quoted in 764n. Whiteness was a sign of delicate

beauty in the hot Mediterranean climate; the name Galatea means 'milky'.

747 refer: *causam doloris* is to be understood from line 748.

748 (sic sum fida): i.e. I am so trustworthy as to be a safe confidante.

749 Nereïs: the second syllable may be long or short, a variation derived from the Greek (Νηρεΐς, Νηρηΐς).

his 'with the following words'.

resecuta . . . est: this form seems to be used only by Ovid (6.36, 8.863). It looks to be from *resequor* ('follow on from', i.e. 'reply to'), but it may be related to, or intended to be taken in the same way as, verbs of saying such as the archaic imperative *insece*, 'tell', which is not related to *sequor*.

Crataeide natam: Crataeis is called the mother of Scylla at *Od.* 12.124–5. Some identified her with the goddess Hecate, who was the mother of Scylla according to Hesiod (fr. 262 M–W): cf. Ap. Rh. 4.828–9.

750 Fauno: a rustic god, and Italian equivalent of Pan.

nymphaque Symaethide 'a nymph who was daughter of the river Symaethis' near Catana in Sicily. Cf. 1.472, 9.652.

cretus: cf. 31–2 *sanguine cretus | Sisyphio*.

752 me sibi iunxerat uni: she was his *coniunx* (cf. 673–4n. on a more informal *coniugium* of god and human) or they were *iuncti amore*.

753 octonis iterum natalibus actis: i.e. sixteen years old. For this use of the distributive cf. lines 618–19. Roman poets delight in the elegant and varied representation of numerals in verse.

754 Ovid has transferred to Acis a line used by Theocritus to describe Polyphemus: at *Id.* 11.9 the Cyclops is described as 'just becoming bearded around his mouth and temples' (ἄρτι γενειάσδων περὶ τὸ στόμα τὼς κροτάφως τε). *dubia* suggests that the down was barely detectable.

756–7 nec . . . | edam: if *nec* is the correct reading, *edam* is subjunctive: 'nor could I say [which was greater]'; that seems possible, if slightly strained. One MS reads *en* for *nec*; *edam* will then be future indicative: 'See! I will tell you.' That, too, is possible, though the interjection is a long way from its verb. For *en ego confiteor* cf. *Am.* 1.2.19, *Ars* 3.598 in similar confidential contexts.

756 quaesieris: perf. subj. *-is* is by nature long. Cf. 444n.

amorne: in prose *utrum* would have preceded *odium*.

758 pro: see 5–8n.

759 alma, related to *alo*, 'nourish', is a common epithet of Venus in Ovid and other Latin poets (most notably at Lucr. 1.1–2 *Aeneadum genetrix* ... | *alma Venus*).

immitis: 740n.

760 horrendus: the word is used twice by Virgil in his account of the Cyclopes: at *Aen.* 3.658 Polyphemus is called *monstrum horrendum informe ingens*, and at 679 the other Cyclopes are *concilium horrendum*.

760–1 uisus ab hospite nullo | impune: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.621 *nec uisu facilis nec dictu adfabilis ulli*. Ovid's choice of the word *hospes*, 'visitor'/'guest', is probably an allusion to an important aspect of the Homeric Cyclops episode, the theme of hospitality (*xeniā*): Homer structures his account to emphasise the fact that Polyphemus' 'entertainment' of Odysseus and his men is the opposite of what is expected in civilised society. *impune* echoes Achaemenides' words at *Aen.* 3.628 (I saw him eat my comrades, but) *haud impune quidem, nec talia passus Vlixes*: Ovid's Galatea episode is set before the arrival of Ulysses (cf. 772–3), and Polyphemus is as yet unpunished.

761 cum dis: for *deorumque*.

contemptor Olympi: Polyphemus was proverbial for his neglect of the gods; at *Od.* 9.275–6 he says 'the Cyclopes take no notice of aegis-bearing Zeus or the other blessed gods' (cf. 843–4n., 857).

762 quid sit amor sentit: an echo of Virg. *Ecl.* 8.43 *nunc scio quid sit amor*, from a passage influenced by Idyll 11.

ualidaque: though attested by only one MS (the others having *nostrique*), this seems the superior reading: the emphasis hereabouts is not on Galatea, but on the violence of Polyphemus' passion. There may be a reference to Theoc. 11.11, where the Cyclops is said to love with 'real madness' (ὀρθαῖς μανίαις).

cupidine captus: these words, together with *oblitus pecorum* in the following line, seem to allude to Virg. *Aen.* 4.194, where Fama spreads the rumour in Carthage that Aeneas and Dido are *regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos*.

763 uritur is from Theoc. 11.52 'set on fire by you, I would offer up my soul and my single eye, than which nothing is sweeter to me'. There, as here, there is an allusion to the literal burning of the Cyclops' eye by Ulysses. Cf. 867.

oblitus pecorum antrorumque suorum: cf. Theoc. 11.10–13 'He loved not with apples or roses or locks of hair [love-tokens], but with real frenzy, and he considered everything else of no importance. Often his sheep came back of their own accord from the green pasture to the homestead ...', 63–4 'Come out of the sea, Galatea, and forget to go back home, just as I do now as I sit here.'

antrorumque: the Homeric Cyclops lived in a cave.

764 tibi ... tibi: prosodic variation (100, 268–9, 319nn.), the final syllable of the first *tibi* being scanned long; of the second, short.

formae ... cura: the Theocritean Polyphemus comments on his appearance: 11.30–3 'I know, dear girl, why you avoid me: it's because a single long, hairy brow stretches right across my forehead from ear to ear, and a single eye is below it, and a wide nostril lies above my lip', 6.34–8 'Nor is my appearance as bad as they say. The other day I looked into the sea when it was calm, and my beard and my single eye seemed in my judgement to be beautiful, and the sea reflected the gleam from my teeth whiter than Parian marble' (cf. 767, 840–1).

765–6 These hilarious details of the rustic coiffure are invented by Ovid. They tie in Galatea's story with its setting and contrast her delicacy with the monstrous appearance of her suitor: while she speaks, her hair is being combed by Scylla (738). There is an amusing allusion to these lines at 14.2, where the fields of the Cyclopes are said not to know the *rastrum*: that is perhaps because their inhabitants are using them all as combs.

765 rigidos ... capillos: an amusing piece of self-reference: so far as his rustic implements allow, Polyphemus has tried to put into practice Ovid's advice in the *Ars amatoria*: *nec male deformet rigidos tonsura capillos: | sit coma, sit trita barba resecta manu* (1.517–18).

rastris: a stout mattock with two or three prongs, used for loosening earth (from *rado*, 'scrape'). This and the pruning-hook beard-trimmer are inventions of Ovid; there is nothing similar in Theocritus, whose Cyclops is only just growing his first beard (11.9); cf. 754n.

766–7 For the beard and sea-mirror see 764n., and cf. 840–1.

766 recidere 'prune'.

767 feros ... uultus: noun and adjective are distributed between the two halves of the sentence; cf. 937n.

componere uultus: i.e. compose them into a less fierce expression.

768 caedis amor: the implication is that this is replaced by *amor Galateae*. What a compliment! Perhaps also *recidere barbam* (766) replaces *caedere homines*.

770–3 As Odysseus sails away triumphant, the Homeric Polyphemus remembers a prophecy: 'Woe is me! A prophecy about me, spoken long ago, has come to pass! In these parts there used to be a great and fine prophet, Telemus son of Eurymus, who excelled in the art of prophecy and grew old as a prophet among the Cyclopes. He told me that all these things would come to pass in the future, and that I should lose my sight at the hands of Odysseus' (*Od.* 9.507–12). Here the pre-Ulyssean situation in Ovid is inspired more directly by Theoc. 6.22–4, where the Cyclops refers to 'my single eye, which I hope to use to the end of my life (and may Telemus the prophet, who utters hateful words, take hateful things home with him and keep them for his children)'.

770 delatus 'brought by ship' suggests that Telemus arrived from elsewhere, though Homer implies if anything that he was a native Sicilian. It looks as if Ovid may have misremembered Homer's words (770–3n.): if the word for 'there used to be' (*Od.* 9.508) were misremembered as the metrically identical 'there came' (*eske* ~ *ēlthe*), then several other features of the Homeric account might support the idea that Telemus came from afar: (1) the word translated 'has come to pass' literally means 'arrives'; (2) 'in these parts', *enthade*, can also mean 'to this place'; (3) the name Telemus looks like *tēle*, 'far away'; (4) 'grew old . . . among the Cyclopes' could be taken to imply that his youth was spent elsewhere.

Aetnen: Theocritus' Polyphemus lives in the neighbourhood of Mt Etna (11.47).

771 A 'translation' of *Od.* 9.509 ('Telemus . . . prophecy'), quoted in 770–3n.

quem nulla fefellerat ales: omens were taken from the flight of birds.

772–3 "lumen"que ". . . rapiet": inspired by Virgil's *cui lumen ademptum* (*Aen.* 3.658) of the blinded Cyclops. When Polyphemus reappears in the speech of Achaemenides in Book 14, he refers to his *damnum . . . lucis ademptae* (197).

772 "lumen"que: cf. 445n.

774 falleris: it is of course Polyphemus who is mistaken; the verb looks back threateningly to *quem nulla fefellerat ales* (771).

775 altera iam rapuit: Polyphemus' wittily savage retort exploits the cliché of the beloved person 'snatching the eyes' of an admirer; cf. *Am.* 2.19.19 *quae nostros rapuisti nuper ocellos.*

sic qualifies *spernit* (776).

frustra uera monentem: since Ulysses has not yet visited Polyphemus, this phrase virtually breaks the dramatic illusion. For other insertions by the controlling narrator see 382–98, 483, 733–4nn.

776 gradiens ingenti litora passu: the uncompounded verb *gradior* is associated with high poetic diction and with dignified, solemn or stately progress, and *ingens* is a word used frequently by Virgil to contribute to the *sublimitas* of epic style. The weighty or ponderous effect is reinforced by *degrauat* (777).

777 opaca . . . antra: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.617–19 *uasto Cyclopis in antro | . . . domus . . . | intus opaca, ingens.*

778 Prominet: cf. 724 *excurrit,* also of a promontory. For the intransitive verb introducing a set-piece description see 429n.

778–9 cuneatus . . . unda 'There was a high, wedge-shaped promontory which projected some distance into the sea, and the waves washed each of its sides.'

780 Cf. Theoc. 11.17–18 'sitting up high on a rock he would look out to sea and sing his serenade'. The scene was a common feature in accounts of the story and in art: see p. 37.

ferus: cf. 767 *feros . . . uultus,* 768 *feritas.*

mediusque resedit: so that he could command a view of the whole sea.

781 lanigerae pecudes: a phrase from Virgil's Cyclops episode (*Aen.* 3.642; cf. ibid. 660 *lanigerae comitantur oues*).

nullo ducente: for the Cyclops' neglect of his flocks cf. Theoc. 11.12–13, quoted in 763n.

782 pinus, baculi quae praebuit usum: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.659 *trunca manum pinus regit et uestigia firmat* (of the already blinded Cyclops).

783 antemnis apta ferendis: the staff is so huge that it is 'fit for carrying yard-arms', i.e. fit to be the mast of a ship: there is a

great disparity in size between Polyphemus and Galatea. The idea is derived from the Homeric Cyclops episode: 'A great staff belonging to the Cyclops lay by the sheep-pen. It was made of fresh olive wood, and he had cut it so that he could carry it once it had dried. To our eyes it seemed as big as the mast of a black twenty-oared ship, a broad-beamed merchant ship that crosses the sea's gulf, so great did it appear in length and thickness' (*Od.* 9.319–24). The reason for Virgil's having substituted a pine-tree for the Homeric olive-wood staff (see previous n.) may have been that *pinus* can mean a ship (e.g. 14.248 *religata in litore pinu*).

784 Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.660–1 *lanigerae comitantur oues; ea sola uoluptas | solamenque mali de collo fistula pendet.* The words *de collo fistula pendet* are attested only by some late MSS, and editors generally expel them from the text; *ea ... uoluptas* is thus made to refer, much more naturally, to the sheep (cf. Polyphemus' address to his ram at *Od.* 9.447–60), and line 661 becomes an uncompleted line of a type often found in the *Aeneid.* Probably the interpolated words are inspired by *Ecl.* 7.24 *pendebit fistula collo.* We know from Donatus' biography of Virgil that after the poet's death many attempted to fill out the lines which he had left unfinished; Ovid's imitation here is probably the earliest evidence for such a supplement (the earliest hitherto known was Sen. *Epist.* 94.28, where *Aen.* 10.284 is quoted complete; Servius had complete versions of 2.787 and 8.41). In general on half-lines see Fordyce (1977) on Virg. *Aen.* 7.129, Sparrow (1931) 46–50.

sumptaque ... est: these words are to be taken together.

harundinibus compacta ... centum: the shepherd's pipe normally had seven reeds (Virg. *Ecl.* 2.36–7 *disparibus septem compacta cicutis | fistula*); this is a monstrous Cyclopean instrument.

785–6 senserunt ... undae: the 'pathetic fallacy' (cf. 48, 690–1, 877nn.), with perhaps a hint (*toti*) that his piping was astonishingly loud. The wide noise is an allusion to the cries of frustrated anger and pain uttered by the Virgilian Cyclops: *clamorem immensum tollit, quo pontus et omnes | intremuere undae, penitusque exterrita tellus | Italiae curuisque immugiit Aetna cauernis* (*Aen.* 3.672–4).

toti 'the whole company of ...': *OLD* s.v. 6.

787–8 auribus ... audita: a variation on a favourite figure of Ovid; see 59n.

787 auribus hausi 'I drank in with my ears'. The phrase suggests eagerness, and is therefore probably ironical: Galatea was hardly keen to hear Polyphemus' suit.

788 notaui 'marked down in my mind' (*OLD* s.v. *noto* 12). There is playful allusion here to the extraordinary feat of memory required for what follows.

789 The song of Polyphemus in Theocritus' eleventh Idyll begins 'O white Galatea, why do you reject him who loves you, whiter than curds to look upon ..?'; there 'whiter than curds' is an appropriately pastoral reference to Galatea's name, since *gala* is Greek for 'milk': cf. 796n. In the singing-contest of *Ecl.* 7 Virgil's Corydon imitates Theocritus in an address to his Galatea: *Nereïne Galatea, thymo mihi dulcior Hyblae, | candidior cycnis, hedera formosior alba* ... (37–8). The *ligustrum* is a type of pale beauty at *Ecl.* 2.18; on a pale complexion as a sign of female beauty see 746n.

candidior 'more fair-skinned'. When applied to a girl *candida* can also mean 'good-natured', 'pretty' (Cat. 13.4, 35.1; *OLD* s.v. 8). Sea deities are often called 'bright' or named after colours: cf. Glaucus (913n.) and Leucothea (919n.: *leukós* = 'white').

folio 'petal' (cf. 398) or 'flower': *OLD* s.v. 3.

790 longa procerior alno: she is tall and slender, admirable characteristics: cf. Cat. 86.1–2 *Quintia formosa est multis: mihi candida, longa, | recta est.* The tall alders are from the *Eclogues*: 6.63 *proceras ... alnos.*

791 splendidior uitro: the Cyclops amusingly quotes Horace (*Carm.* 3.13.1 *o fons Bandusiae, splendidior uitro*). The phrase is particularly suitable for Galatea because it is applied by Horace to water. On ancient glass see Nisbet–Hubbard (1970) on Hor. *Carm.* 1.17.20 *uitreamque Circen*, which some ancient commentators took to be a reference to the translucence of the sea rather than to glass.

tenero lasciuior haedo: the second and third similes of the Theocritean Cyclops are 'softer than a lamb, more skittish than a calf' (11.20–1), and Ovid has adapted them to 'more skittish than a tender kid'; cf. Cat. 17.15 *puella tenellulo delicatior haedo*; Galatea is called *lasciua puella* at Virg. *Ecl.* 3.64.

792 leuior 'smoother'. She is smooth-skinned, the opposite of the hirsute Cyclops (846–7).

adsiduo detritis aequore 'worn by the ceaseless motion of the waves', another image particularly suitable for Galatea (cf. 791n.).

794 nobilior pomis: a fruit might be called *nobilis* as being excellent of its kind (cf. 817–18 *prunaque . . . generosa*), but 'more excellent than apples' is a more problematic expression than 'excellent apples', since excellence is not an attribute of all apples in the same way that sweetness, for example, is characteristic of ripe grapes, or translucence of ice (795). Many scholars have felt that the phrase is corrupt, and have emended either the noun (*pinu* Bentley, *palma* Siebelis) or both adjective and noun (*mobilior flamma* Ellis, *m. damma* Madvig (cf. 801); but in this context *mobilitas* is not a good thing). Polyphemus refers again to *poma* in line 812. Tarrant would delete the line, so that Polyphemus' comparisons consist of (7 + 1) + (7 + 3) lines; but exact symmetry is not necessarily to be expected in passages such as this.

795 matura dulcior uua: the Theocritean Cyclops calls Galatea 'sleeker than an unripe grape' (11.21 φιαρωτέρα ὄμφακος ὠμᾶς); for Corydon at Virg. *Ecl.* 7.37 she is *thymo . . . dulcior Hyblae.*

796 lacte coacto: 829–30n. The comparison, and the allusion to her name, are from Theoc. 11.20 'whiter than curds to look upon' (λευκοτέρα πακτᾶς ποτιδεῖν); cf. 789n.

797 si non fugias: these words seem to be suggested by the lines of Theocritus immediately following his series of comparisons: 'Why do you visit the land when sweet sleep holds me, but go back [to the sea] again (οἴχηι δ' εὐθὺς ἰοῖσ') when sweet sleep releases me, and flee (φεύγεις) from me like the sheep at sight of the grey wolf?' (11.22–4). The logical connexion between the conditional clause and the rest of the sentence is elliptical: 'if you did not avoid me so, I would call you also more lush than a beautiful garden'; singular *hortus* is a kitchen garden, and the point is probably that Galatea refuses to allow her charms to be 'harvested' (Kenney (1984) 35). The qualified praise in this line forms a transition to the negative comparisons that follow. The opposition of positive and negative is inspired by Virg. *Ecl.* 7. 37–44.

798 eadem '(but) also'. For this use of *idem* introducing a further attribute see *OLD* s.v. 8.

indomitis . . . iuuencis: the image of a virgin as an unbroken

foal or other animal is a cliché of ancient erotic writing. It is typical of his blindness to the truth that Polyphemus should accuse Galatea of being *saeua* (i.e. of harshly spurning his advances), since he is himself the archetype of *saeuitia*.

799 durior annosa quercu: the oak was proverbially tough; and *durus* is a common word in erotic verse for those who resist advances. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.438–49, where Aeneas resists, oaklike, the pleas of Dido; 441 *ac uelut annoso ualidam cum robore quercum*, etc.

fallacior undis: he implies that Galatea plays him false (*OLD* s.v. *fallax* 3) and that she is even less dependable than the proverbially undependable sea which she inhabits. In fact, however, she has given him no cause for hope (755–7).

800 lentior: when applied to growing things *lentus* means 'pliant'; when applied to humans, however, it is normally pejorative: 'tough', 'reluctant', 'cold', 'unresponsive'. Vines are proverbially pliant (Cat. 61.102–3, Virg. *Ecl.* 3.38, 9.42).

uitibus albis: vines which bear whitish grapes (cf. Virg. *Geo.* 2.91 *uites ... Mareotides albae*).

801 This line is quoted by Sen. *Benef.* 7.23.1 as an example of effective hyperbole.

his ... scopulis: cf. 778–9.

immobilior: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.438–9 (cf. 799n.) *nullis ille mouetur | fletibus*, 449 *mens immota manet*; but the idea is a common one.

802 laudato 'when it is admired' (cf. 804 *calcato*, 'when it is trodden on'), not 'that famous bird': cf. *Ars* 1.627–8 *laudatas ostendit auis Iunonia pinnas; | si tacitus spectes, illa recondit opes.*

acrior igni: the cruel flames of fire are a common image of burning desire.

803 asperior tribulis: caltrops are a tough and spiny weed. Cf. Virg. *Geo.* 1.152–3 ≈ 3.384–5 *subit aspera silua | lappaeque tribulique*, with the note of Mynors (1990).

feta 'which has recently given birth'.

truculentior ursa: cf. 558 (Hecuba about to become a dog).

804 surdior aequoribus: the sea is proverbially deaf to entreaties, prayers, and attempts to influence its behaviour (cf. Canute).

calcato immitior hydro: here the famous epic simile of a man treading with horror on a snake has been adapted so that the focus

of interest is the snake rather than the human reaction to it: Virg. *Aen.* 2.379–82 *improuisum aspris ueluti qui sentibus anguem | pressit humi nitens trepidusque repente refugit | attollentem iras et caerula colla tumentem, | haud secus Androgeos uisu tremefactus abibat* (cf. *Il.* 3.33–7, *Fasti* 2.341–2, Juv. 1.43).

805–7 These lines, beginning with *et* and followed by a subordinate clause, parallel and outdo with a rising crescendo line 797, which concluded the series of positive comparisons.

805 quod 'something which'.

uellem ... possem 'I should like to be able'.

806 ceruo ... acto: ablative of comparison dependent, like *uentis* and *aura*, on *fugacior* (807). For the animal-comparison cf. Theoc. 11.24, quoted in 797n. (sheep).

808 At bene si noris 'if you have any sense'. *noris* = *noueris* (2nd person perfect subjunctive active of *nosco*).

pigeat fugisse 'you would regret having shunned me'.

809 labores: subjunctive.

810–11 sunt mihi ... | antra: for the expression and rhythm cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 2.36–7 *est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis | fistula.*

uiuo pendentia saxo | antra 'a high-arching cave in the living rock' (Greek αὐτόροφος); *antra* is probably plural for singular here, with reference to the cave in which he lives, although in line 822 he may refer to other caves in which his sheep are kept. The Theocritean Cyclops draws Galatea's attention to the attractions of his cave: 'You will spend the night more pleasantly with me in my cave. There are to be found laurels and slender cypresses, black ivy and sweet-smelling vines, and cold water which wooded Etna sends down from its white snows, a drink fit for the gods' (11.44–8). The Ovidian Polyphemus perhaps uses a Virgilian allusion to make his love seem attractive for a sea-nymph: *Aen.* 1.166–8 *fronde sub aduersa scopulis pendentibus antrum; | intus aquae dulces uiuoque sedilia saxo | nympharum domus.* Cf. *Met.* 5.317 (of nymphs).

812 nec sentitur hiems: cf. Eur. *Cycl.* 331 'winter doesn't bother me'.

813 Cf. Theoc. 11.46 (810–11n.).

auro similes: of the yellow grapes.

814 tibi et has seruamus et illas: cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 2.42 (*capreoli*) *quos tibi seruo*, in a similar ingratiatory context.

815 siluestri ... sub umbra: the phrase evokes the pastoral *locus amoenus*: at the beginning of Virgil's *Eclogues* Tityrus is found *recubans sub tegmine fagi* (1.1) and *lentus in umbra* (4); cf. 7.10 *requiesce sub umbra.*

nata qualifies *fraga* (816).

815–16 ipsa tuis manibus ... ipsa: Polyphemus tries to stress the wonderful pleasure to be derived from such rustic activities.

817 nigro liuentia suco: i.e. blue plums.

818 generosa 'choice', 'high-class': 794n.

nouasque imitantia ceras 'like fresh wax', i.e. yellowish. Probably imitated from Virgil's *cerea pruna* (*Ecl.* 2.53), which Servius explains as being *aut cerei coloris, aut mollia,* comparing Hor. *Carm.* 1.13.2–3 *cerea Telephi* | ... *bracchia.*

819 castaneae are mentioned several times in the *Eclogues* (1.81 *castaneae molles,* 2.52, 7.53) – another ingredient of the idyllic country life.

821–2 multae ... | multas ... multae ... : cf. Theoc. 11.34–5 'my appearance may be odd, but I pasture a thousand sheep, and drink their excellent milk', Virg. *Ecl.* 2.21 (821n.).

821 multae: sc. *pecudes*: the feminine form is to be understood from the preceding *pecus*; cf. 824 *pecus ... harum.* The feminine and neuter forms do not differ significantly in meaning.

errant 'browse'. Cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 2.21 *mille meae Siculis errant in montibus agnae.*

822 multae stabulantur in antris: the Homeric Cyclops brings his flock into his cave for the night; that may be envisaged here, rather than a number of caves used as sheep-pens. Cf. 810–11n.

823–4 nec ... pecus: the Theocritean Cyclops speaks of 'a thousand sheep' (i.e. a very large number) at 11.34 (quoted in 821–2n.); the Ovidian Polyphemus outdoes his literary predecessor in reaching a higher level of self-important hyperbole.

824 pauperis est numerare pecus 'it is the mark of a poor man to be able to count his flocks'.

825 nil mihi credideris: probably jussive perfect subjunctive: 'don't take my word for it; if you were present you would see for yourself how ...'

826 ut ... uber: i.e. how they can scarcely move their legs

round their distended udders. Cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 4.21–2 (the Golden Age) *ipsae lacte domum referunt distenta capellae | ubera*, 7.3 *distentas lacte capellas.*

827–8 The lambs and kids are kept apart: *Od.* 9.219–21 'The pens were filled with lambs and kids, and each group was penned in separately – the older ones, the younger, and the new-born.'

827 minor: younger than the sheep described above.

tepidis: lambs have to be kept warm.

829 niueum: cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 2.19–20 *nec qui sim quaeris, Alexi, | quam diues pecoris, niuei quam lactis abundans*, Theoc. 11.35 (quoted in 821–2n.).

829–30 pars . . . durant: cf. *Od.* 9.246–9 (Ulysses watches Polyphemus as he milks his sheep and goats) 'Half of the white milk he curdled, collected up, and placed in woven baskets; half he placed in jars ready to drink with his dinner.'

830 liquefacta coagula: rennet, a coagulant used for setting cheese. It is made from the inner stomach lining of young calves.

831 faciles 'easily obtained' (*OLD* s.v. 6): 834 *inueni . . . in summis montibus.*

832 dammae leporesque caperque: the Theocritean Cyclops says 'I am rearing eleven fawns for you, all with collars, and four bear-cubs' (11.40–1); possibly the dismissal of *dammae* as *faciles* here is intended to go one better. For the pet goat cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 2.40–2 *praeterea duo nec tuta mihi ualle reperti | capreoli, sparsis etiamnunc pellibus albo, | bina die siccant ouis ubera; quos tibi seruo*; again perhaps Ovid has gone beyond his model, making the *caper*, too, *facilis*, and transferring the idea of *nec tuta . . . ualle reperti* to the bear-cubs (836).

833 parue columbarum 'or a pair of doves', a common lover's gift (cf. Petr. 85.5).

demptusue cacumine nidus: a nest of young birds taken from a tree-top. Even the risk involved there is trifling.

834–7 These lines are expanded from the brief reference to bear-cubs at Theoc. 11.41; *inueni* alludes to *reperti* at Virg. *Ecl.* 2.40; and *dominae seruabimus istos* (837) is from Virg. *Ecl.* 2.42 (all quoted in 832n.). *catulos . . . ursae* is delayed until the end of the sentence, and comes unexpectedly: at Virg. *Ecl.* 2.40–1, a model for this passage (see above), the gift is *duo . . . capreoli.*

834–5 The fact that the two lines are metrically and rhythmically identical with a subordinate clause beginning after the caesura, and

that they end with the same verb, may suggest that the Cyclops is ponderously labouring his point and tantalisingly withholding the revelation which he hopes will be a pleasant surprise.

834 qui tecum ludere possint: having quoted Horace (791n.), Polyphemus now echoes Catullus' poignant address to his mistress' pet sparrow: Cat. 2.2–4 *quicum ludere ... solet*, 9 *tecum ludere sicut ipsa possem*. See Davis (1981) 2486–7.

836 uillosae: an attractive feature in the opinion of a hairy Cyclops (766).

in summis montibus: 831n.

838 modo 'just', '*do*'.

nitidum continues the idea of *splendidior uitro* (791) and *lucidior glacie* (795).

caput exsere ponto: cf. Theoc. 11.63 'Come out from the sea, Galatea', 42 'Come here to me'. The picture of Galatea looking on from the waves while Polyphemus sits on the shore was a popular one in Roman wall-painting: see 780n. Here, however, the prayer is ironical, since she is not in the sea at all (786–7).

839 nec munera despice nostra: cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 2.44 *sordent tibi munera nostra*, 56 *nec munera curat Alexis,* both from pastoral contexts and from poems inspired by the Theocritean Cyclops.

840–1 Cf. Theoc. 6.34–8 (quoted in 764n.). The Cyclops' words are adapted for the foolish lover Corydon at Virg. *Ecl.* 2.25–7 *nec sum adeo informis: nuper me in litore uidi,* | *cum placidum uentis staret mare. non ego Daphnin* | *iudice te metuam, si numquam fallit imago*; but, unlike Virgil, Ovid does not actually specify the type of water which was Polyphemus' mirror. That may be because critics had objected that it was impossible to see one's reflection in the waves (Servius cited by Clausen (1994) on *Ecl.* 2.25–6).

842–3 aspice ... caelo: Polyphemus is proud of his Cyclopean size. In the *Odyssey* he kills men with nonchalant ease; Virgil describes him as *uasta se mole mouentem* (*Aen.* 3.656). His conception of Jupiter is, it seems, one of a god who rules by physical dominance.

843–4 (nam uos narrare soletis | nescioquem regnare Iouem): cf. 857. The Homeric Cyclops has no time for the gods: 'You are a fool, stranger [sc. Odysseus], or you must be from a long way off, if you tell me to fear the gods or to keep out of their way. The Cyclopes have no care for aegis-bearing Zeus or for the other

blessed gods, because we ourselves are much superior' (*Od.* 9.273–6). After gaining his revenge, Odysseus is able to say, 'Zeus and the other gods have brought about your punishment' (479). The Ovidian Cyclops is less proud, more dismissive: *uos* implies 'you and the rest of them', *narrare* suggests a mere tale, and *nescioquem* a nonentity (468n.).

844–5 toruos | . . . uultus: cf. 3–4 (Ajax) *toruo* | . . . *uultu*. The adjective is borrowed from the Virgilian account of Polyphemus' blinding: *Aen.* 3.635–6 *telo lumen terebramus acuto* | *ingens quod torua solum sub fronte latebat.*

845 prominet 'juts': cf. 778–9 *prominet in pontum* . . . | *collis*. Cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 8.33–4 *tibi est odio* . . . | *hirsutumque supercilium promissaque barba.*

ut lucus: he thinks his face is a *locus amoenus*. Cf. 766, and see p. 39. At *Aen.* 3.681 the tall Cyclopes gathered on the beach are likened to high trees, *silua alta Iouis lucusue Dianae.*

846 quod 'the fact that'.

rigidis . . . saetis: cf. 765 *rigidos* . . . *capillos*, Theoc. 11.50–1 'even if my appearance may seem rather too hairy, I do have oak-logs and undying fire under the ashes . . .'

saetis: a word applied almost exclusively to the hair or bristle of animals.

847–8 turpis . . . uelent: Polyphemus speaks like the Ovid of the *Ars amatoria*, who constantly uses comparisons with the natural world: cf. 3.249–50 *turpe pecus mutilum* [i.e. *sine cornibus*], *turpis sine gramine campus* | *et sine fronde frutex et sine crine caput*. In these contexts *turpis* has no moral implication, but refers to physical ugliness.

848 flauentia 'tawny'.

849 decori est: predicative dative.

851 unum est in media lumen mihi fronte: cf. Theoc. 11.31–3, quoted in 764n.

851–2 sed instar | ingentis clipei: the comparison is inspired by Virg. *Aen.* 3.635–7 *telo lumen terebramus acuto* | *ingens quod torua solum sub fronte latebat,* | *Argolici clipei aut Phoebeae lampadis instar*. Virgil in turn derived the shield comparison from Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* 52–4: 'Each [Cyclops] had under his brow a single eye, equal in size to a shield of four oxhides, and shining with a terrible gleam.'

852–3 quid? non haec omnia magnus | Sol uidet e caelo?: the sun was proverbially all-seeing, and the orb was its eye. Reference to the sun here is inspired by the Virgilian *Phoebeae lampadis instar* (851–2n.).

853 Soli tamen unicus orbis: there may be an etymological play here: Cic. *N.D.* 2.68 *cum sol dictus sit uel quia solus ex omnibus sideribus est tantus uel quia cum est exortus obscuratis omnibus solus apparet* (Maltby (1991) 572).

854 adde quod: 117n.

in uestro genitor meus aequore regnat: in Homer (*Od.* 9.412, 528–36) Polyphemus is the son of Poseidon (Neptune). *uestro* perhaps implies 'you sea nymphs etc. think the sea is yours, but *my* father reigns there'. On *genitor* see 186n.

tibi enim succumbimus uni: 'you alone' is phrasing typical of hymns and prayers; *succumbimus*, 'yield to', is a verb also with sexual overtones ('lie down with': *OLD* s.v. 2).

857 See 761, 843–4nn.

penetrabile: adjectives in *-bilis* (of which Ovid uses many) are normally passive in meaning, but occasionally active: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10.481 *penetrabile telum.*

858 Nereï: a dactyl; Greek vocative of *Nereïs* with short medial vowel (749n.).

tua fulmine saeuior ira est: a very 'elegiac' notion: cf. *Am.* 2.1.17–20, concluding *clausa tuo maius ianua fulmen habet.*

859 Atque ego: 21n.

patientior: Ovid is particularly ready to form comparatives and superlatives from participles; see Kenney (1996) on *Her.* 18.45, 19.83.

860 fugeres: cf. Theoc. 11.30 'I know, dear girl, why you avoid me (τίνος οὕνεκα φεύγεις).' See 764n.

Cyclope repulso: a dignified reference to himself in the third person: cf. 17–18n.

861 Acin . . . Acin: 178n.

862–4 licebit is grimly concessive in sense: 'Let him please himself [i.e. congratulate himself on his beauty] and – though I would rather he did not – please you, too, Galatea; if the opportunity might just be given me, he will find that my strength suits my size.' Since *copia* is often used in love poetry of an opportunity for access to a mistress, line 864 contains an element of surprise.

tanto pro corpore: cf. 842–3.

865 uiscera uiua traham: *traham* = *extraham*; cf. 12.390–1 *sua uiscera traxit | tractaque calcauit*, *OLD* s.v. *traho* 11a. The description is inspired by the Cyclops' cannibal preparations at *Od.* 9.289–93: 'Seizing two of my companions, he smashed them on the ground like puppies; their brains slopped to the floor and wetted the earth. He cut them into joints, prepared his meal, and, like a mountain lion, ate up without a pause guts, flesh, and bones full of marrow.' These lines are imitated by Virgil at *Aen.* 3.623–7; cf. 622 *uisceribus miserorum et sanguine uescitur atro*, with similar alliteration of *u*.

diuulsa gives a much stronger image than the alternative reading *diuisa*, which however gains some support from the expression 'he cut them into joints' (μελεϊστὶ ταμών) in the Homeric account (*Od.* 9.291). *diuisa* is perhaps another example of 'correction' by a learned reader: cf. 294, 404–7, 683–4, 707, 724nn.

865–6 membra per agros | ... spargam: cf. Virg. *Geo.* 4.522 (Orpheus) *discerptum latos iuuenem sparsere per agros*.

866 (sic se tibi misceat): the parenthesis splits up *tuas* and *undas*. There is a grimly humorous allusion to the use of *miscere* for the act of sexual intercourse (*OLD* s.v. 4c).

867 See 763n. *laesus* refers to Galatea's rejection of him, but perhaps hints also at his future blinding.

868–9 Ovid alludes to a famous passage of the Greek lyric poet Pindar (fifth century BC): *Pythians* 1.13–28 'But all who feel Zeus's loathing are routed when they hear the Muses' voice ring out on earth and raging sea, even he who sprawls in the dark pit of Tartaros, hating the gods – hundred-headed Typhon ... Now Sicily's mountains crush his shaggy breast. He's pinned beneath the pillar of the sky: white-capped Aitna, nursing all year long her brood of stinging snow. Within her secret depths pure springs of unapproachable fire erupt ... It is the monster beneath, spewing torrents of fire – a wondrous portent to behold, a wonder even to hear of from those who have seen how he thrashes in bonds beneath the black-leaved peaks and sloping sides of Aitna, and his bed, scraping all his back, goads him as he writhes upon it' – tr. Nisetich (1980). See also 763n.

868 uiribus: the volcano's raging flames and white-hot lava.

869 nec tu, Galatea, moueris: *nec* is adversative (*OLD* s.v.

neque 5): cf. Theoc. 11.29 (Polyphemus to Galatea) '[I am madly in love] *but* you don't care – you don't care at all, by Zeus.'

870 nequiquam: a pointed contrast with the song of the Theocritean Cyclops, who gained at least a temporary respite from his pain: 'In this way Polyphemus shepherded his love by singing, and he did better than if he had paid a doctor's fee' (*Id.* 11.80–1). See Galinsky (1975) 192–3.

871–2 ut ... errat: in the *Georgics* Virgil describes at length the similar behaviour of a bull defeated in combat by a rival mate for a cow: he goes into self-imposed exile before returning with his strength improved (3.219–41).

871 furibundus: Theoc. 11.11 speaks of the Cyclops' 'real frenzy' (ὀρθαῖς μανίαις) of love: see 762n.

872 stare 'keep still'.

notis probably governs *silua* as well as *saltibus*.

873 ferus: cf. 767, 768.

ignaros 'unprepared', ignorant of the possible danger.

874 uidet ... "uideo"que: the emphasis on sight perhaps looks forward to his fate at the hands of Ulysses.

-que: cf. 445n.

875 ultima ... concordia: the etymology, from *cor*, is perhaps to the fore here; their two hearts are conjoined for the last time.

sit is dependent on the future *faciam*: 'I shall make sure that this is your final tryst.'

876–7 These lines echo the Virgilian account of Polyphemus' cry of impotent rage when he senses that Aeneas has escaped (*Aen.* 3.672–4, quoted in 785–6n.). This in turn is inspired by *Od.* 9.395 (Polyphemus being blinded) 'he gave a huge and terrible cry, and the cave re-echoed it'.

877 debuit: his voice, like his *uires* (864), is in proportion to his bulk. For the logical force of the verb here see *OLD* s.v. 6b.

clamore perhorruit Aetne: the wooded mountain slopes felt a frisson of horror. On the 'pathetic fallacy' see 48, 690–1, 785–6nn.

879 terga fugae dederat conuersa 'had turned his back in flight'.

Symaethius heros: 750n. The periphrastic expression is of a type standard in epic (124n.), but here the solemn effect is undercut by the less than heroic actions which Acis is performing.

880–1 parentes | ... uestris: the phrase *Symaethius heros* in line 879 focuses attention on Acis' mother, the river nymph Symaethis: his rescue is to be a watery one (885–6).

881 periturum: Ovid frequently uses the future participle in this way; English can convey the sense only with a clause or phrase: 'if I am not to perish', 'in my hour of need', *vel sim.* Cf. 947n.

882–3 partemque e monte reuulsam | mittit: here the Cyclops rehearses his future attempt to sink the ship of Odysseus, who in Homer's account cannot resist taunting his blinded victim: 'So I spoke, and he became even more enraged: he tore off the top of a high mountain and threw it at us, and it fell just in front of our dark-prowed ship ...' (*Od.* 9.480–3; 481 ἧκε δ' ἀπορρήξας κορυφὴν ὄρεος μεγάλοιο). The action is an exaggerated, Cyclopean version of an epic hero's casting of a great boulder in single combat (e.g. *Il.* 14.409–32, discussed in 82–97n. §2).

partemque e monte: at line 810 Polyphemus called his cave *pars montis*. Now the phrase is transferred from a context of cosy domesticity to one of terrifying violence.

884 angulus e saxo ... Acin: the Greek word *akís*, with short initial vowel, means 'pointed object', and is used, for example, of the barb of a weapon; possibly there is some etymological play here with Acis' name (*Ā́kis* in Greek). For *saxo* cf. 892.

885 nos may refer to Galatea alone, to Galatea and her parents, or to Galatea and the mother of Acis.

quod fieri solum per fata licebat: this was all they could do, since even gods are unable to bring mortals back to life.

886 fecimus ut ... adsumeret: contrast the construction at 875 *sit faciam.*

uires ... auitas: he is grandson of the river-god Symaethus (750n.).

887 mole: the *pars e monte reuulsa* (882); cf. 890.

888 temporis exiguum: a more exquisite equivalent of *tempus exiguum*, with the adjective used as a noun; cf. e.g. 909 *summum ... montis.*

889 primo: adverbial; at first, as the colour of blood begins to disappear, the colour is that of a swollen and muddy torrent; then (890 *tum*) the water gradually clears.

890 purgaturque mora 'and it gradually became clearer and clearer'.

tacta: if this is the correct reading, we must understand Galatea to have touched the rock as part of her conduct of the proceedings. Some manuscripts read *fracta* or *iacta* (for which cf. 883 *mittit*).

891 uiuaque: cf. 885–6.

harundo: collective singular.

892 There is alliteration of *s* and *x* sounds, suggesting in this context the sound of the water.

osque cauum saxi: the opening just formed (890–1). This use of *os* looks forward to the anthropomorphic metamorphosis which is about to be described.

893 exstitit: probably from *exsisto* rather than *exsto*.

894 flexis 'twisted'; cf. *Am.* 1.14.13 *flexibus apti* (sc. *capilli*).

noua cornua: accusative of respect. River-gods were often associated with bulls, and often depicted as human figures with horns: at 8.881–4 the river-god Achelous laments the loss of one of his horns. In descriptions of metamorphosis the adjective *nouus* implies 'strange' as well as 'new': cf. 406. On Acis' transformation see Forbes Irving (1990) 302.

cannis = *harundinibus* (cf. 891). The garland of reeds is a common accoutrement of river-gods in both literature and art: cf. *Ars* 1.223, *Ex P.* 3.4.107–8, Virg. *Aen.* 8.34, 10.205–6.

895 nisi quod 'but for the fact that ...'

maior: gods are conventionally greater in size than mortals (*Fasti* 2.503, Hom. *Il.* 4.443, *Od.* 6.107, *H. Hom. Cer.* 188–9, Hdt. 1.60.4).

toto caerulus ore: cf. 960–2, 288n.

896 sed sic quoque erat tamen Acis 'but even so [sc. in this altered state] he was still Acis'. This gives good sense in itself, but less good sense when considered together with the preceding words: 'he was Acis, but even so ... he was still Acis'. Some MSS read *quod* for *sed*, which seems meaningless; others offer *et*, which is not much superior to *sed* and entails the unusual lengthening of *-at* before the following vowel. It seems possible that there is wider corruption here.

897 antiquum tenuerunt flumina nomen: Ovid often concludes a description of metamorphosis with an aetiological reference to the fact that a place still in existence has the name of the trans-

formed character (cf. 569–70). The Acis (*flumina* is a poetic plural) was a river which rose at the foot of Mt Etna and flowed into the sea on the east coast of Sicily. It is mentioned by Theocritus (1.69) and other poets, and was famous for the coldness of its water (Solinus 5.17: see p. 40 n. 140).

898 coetuque soluto: cf. 735–9: we assume that the nymphs were present at the conversation of Scylla and Galatea.

900 redit 'turned back' (Melville (1986)). She has visited the Nereids (736–7; location not specified); now she does not follow them out to sea, but returns to the shore.

901 bibula ... harena: cf. Varro ap. Vel. gramm. 7.69.4 (Maltby (1991) 269) *nonnulli harenam cum adspiratione, siue quoniam haereat, siue quod aquam hauriat.*

sine uestibus provides the motivation for Glaucus' reaction in line 906.

902 seductos ... recessus: the setting here, 'a little land-locked cove' (Melville (1986)), looks forward to the *paruus ... gurges curuos sinuatus in arcus* (14.51) where Scylla's monstrous transformation will take place, and from which she will subsequently strike terror into mariners. Homer speaks of a 'hollow cave' (κοῖλον σπέος, *Od.* 12.84), Virgil of a *spelunca* with *caecis ... latebris* and of a *uastum ... antrum* (*Aen.* 3.424, 431). See Segal (1969) 28–9, *al.* For the prefigurement of metamorphosis cf. 693–4n., 920–1.

903 gurgitis: later to become Charybdis? The word is probably governed by *unda* rather than *recessus*.

905 in Euboïca ... Anthedone: the town of Anthedon was in fact in Boeotia, opposite the island of Euboea. For the details of Glaucus' metamorphosis see pp. 41–2.

906 haeret: he is rooted to the spot. This is a conventional reaction to beauty (*Her.* 16.135, 20.205–6, etc.), but there may be an ironical reference to Homer's grim description of Scylla: 'nobody could look at her with delight, not even a god if he passed that way' (*Od.* 12.87–8).

907–8 quaecumque ... refert: Ovid has already had such a speech (Apollo to Daphne, 1.504–24) and jokingly implies that he will not quote another.

909 summum ... montis: 888n.

910–11 '[Standing] before the strait [of Messana] is a huge peak,

gathering itself into a single summit and sloping, tree-clad, far into the sea.' These lines suggest the monstrous Scylla's future lair: 'One [rock] reaches its sharp peak (= *apicem conlectus in unum*) up to the very sky ... No man on earth could climb to the top of it or even get a foothold on it, not even if he had twenty hands and feet to help him, because the rock is as smooth as if it had been polished (= *tuta loco*). But half-way up the crag there is a murky cavern (*Od.* 9.80 ἔστι σπέος = *est ingens*) ...' (trans. Rieu–Rieu–Jones (1991)). Cf. lines 778–9, which describe the promontory where Polyphemus sat to serenade Galatea. Topographical descriptions in ancient literature are often elaborate, and sometimes difficult to visualise; poets strove for elegant variation in such passages.

911 longa 'boundless' (*OLD* s.v. 4a): cf. 961.

912 monstrumne deusne: Scylla herself will later become a *monstrum* (14.60); cf. 915 *inguina* of Glaucus ~ 14.67 *inguinibus* of Scylla, 914 *terga* of Glaucus ~ 14.66 of Scylla.

913–14 admiraturque ... tegentem 'she wondered at his colour and at his hair, which covered his shoulders and his back below them': the *-que* of *admiraturque* actually links *colorem* with the following *caesariemque*.

913 colorem: at line 962 we learn that Glaucus is *caeruleus*; cf. 895, where Acis, now a water divinity, is *toto caerulus ore*. In Greek *glaukós* is a colour-word, applied by Homer to the sea, and there may be some allusion to that here. The word is notoriously difficult to translate, but 'blue-green' is a useful approximation.

915 quod 'that', after *admiratur*. The conjunction is placed unobtrusively, and emphasis falls on the words that convey the surprising content.

tortilis ... piscis: i.e. a curving fish-tail. He is like a merman. *glaúkos*, with accent on the first syllable (contrast 913n.), is Greek for a species of fish, not now identifiable: see Thompson (1947) 48. Some MSS have *pristis*, which would be an allusion to Virg. *Aen.* 10.211 (Triton) *frons hominem praefert, in pristim desinit aluus*; but this is more likely to be a learned reader's conjecture (cf. 865n.).

916 Sensit: sc. that she was amazed (913) at his appearance.

innitens 'leaning on', with *moli*.

quae stabat proxima: the picture is not elaborated, but he is probably to be imagined as up to his waist in the sea and supporting

himself on the rock, so that his tail is hidden. Cf. 923 *in mole sedens* of Glaucus before his transformation. The neighbouring *moles* may be a reference to the Homeric description of the two crags of Scylla and Charybdis. For Scylla's cliff see 910–11n.; that of Charybdis was a bowshot's distance away, and lower (*Od.* 12.101–3).

917 prodigium = *monstrum* (912).

918–19 Here, at the beginning of his speech, Glaucus puts in a proud claim to importance, and throughout he stands on his dignity: cf. 930 *ego primus*, the grandiose use of compound epithets in *cornigerae*, *falciferas* and *pinnigero* (926, 930, 963), and the dignified patronymic *Athamantiades . . . Palaemon* (919).

918 Proteus: a sea-god familiar from Book 4 of the *Odyssey* (and in Latin literature from Book 4 of Virgil's *Georgics*). He is often named as an archetype of (protean) changefulness, since he was able to alter his shape at will. He is little mentioned in the *Met.*, as Ovid follows his policy of avoiding the obvious (pp. 22–3, 30).

919 Triton: another sea-god, often mentioned in poetry from Hesiod (*Theog.* 931) onwards; cf. 915n., 1.330–42.

Athamantiadesque Palaemon: Ovid tells the story of Athamas, his wife Ino, and their son Melicertes at 4.416–542. Driven mad by Juno, Athamas killed his son Learchus and tried to kill Ino and Melicertes. With the child in her arms, Ino leapt from a cliff into the sea; the pair became sea-gods and took the names Leucothea and Palaemon.

921 debitus aequoribus 'destined for the sea'. Bentley's conjecture *debitus* gives much more pointed sense than *deditus*, 'devoted to', of the MSS and fits *scilicet* better. Cf. 54 *debita Troianis exercet spicula fatis*, *Her.* 7.103 *debita coniunx*, *OLD* s.v. *debeo* 4.

922 ducebam ducentia retia pisces: for participial repetitions of this type, a favourite Ovidian figure, see Wills (1996) 250, who cites amongst other examples 14.35 *spernentem sperne* (Circe to Glaucus). Cf. 59n.

923 moderabar harundine linum 'I controlled the line with my rod.' Glaucus dignifies his former occupation with an impressive epic expression.

924–31 Glaucus gives a formal description of an untouched meadow; cf. 292–4, 429, 778nn. Such places are often the setting for divine epiphanies and other supernatural happenings. That the

space is in some way sacred is suggested by *laesere* (926). Ovid uses a similar technique of negative enumeration in describing Narcissus' spring at 3.407–12. See Segal (1969) 61.

924–5 'There is a shore bounded by a meadow: one side of it is bordered by the waves, the other by the grass.'

928 apis ... sedula: the 'busy bee': cf. Tib. 2.1.49–50 *rure leuis uerno flores apis ingerit alueo, | compleat ut dulci sedula melle fauos*. Both here and in that passage *flores* is probably used to mean 'pollen' (Greek *anthos*, 'flower', is so used: cf. the vague use of *folium* for 'petal' or 'flower' at line 789), though some ancient writers did apparently believe that bees carried blossoms to their hives. For details and references see Gow (1952) on Theoc. 7.81, Mynors (1990) on Virg. *Geo.* 4.38–41.

929 data 'provided'.

genialia 'festal'.

931 lina: probably 'nets' (922 *retia*), which need careful drying, rather than 'lines', even though *linum* means 'line' at 923. See *OLD* s.v. 2c, d.

932 recenserem ... ordine: he set out his catch carefully so that he could take stock more easily.

933 insuper: i.e. *in caespite.*

934 credulitas: implicit is the hope of Glaucus that Scylla will be 'hooked' by his speech: he is now a fisher of men.

935 res similis fictae: the phrase is in apposition to the sentence of lines 936–7. Ovidian narrators often draw attention to the improbable nature of what they are relating. Such comments challenge our credulity, and invite readers to question the nature of fiction and belief. Cf. 181–204, 733–4nn.

(sed quid mihi fingere prodest?): the question sounds open and ingenuous, but the answer is in fact that by his words he hopes to win over Scylla.

937 mutare latus 'flop about from side to side'. The expression is used at Virg. *Aen.* 3.581 to describe the giant Enceladus wearily changing the side on which he lies in his confinement under Mt Etna (for the image cf. 868–9n.).

terraque ut in aequore: the preposition is to be taken with both nouns; cf. 767n.

niti 'push themselves along' (*OLD* s.v. 5a; cf. Lucr. 1.372 *cedere squamigeris latices nitentibus aiunt*).

938 moror mirorque simul is a sort of hendiadys: 'I stood rooted in amazement.'

939 dominumque nouum: Glaucus, who has just caught them.

941 num ... num: after *dubito* and *requiro* one would expect *utrum ... an*, but here the word is retained which would have introduced the questions in direct speech.

943 decerpsi decerptaque: 59n.

944–5 uix bene ... | cum 'I had hardly finished swallowing the strange juice, when ...': *OLD* s.v. *bene* 13b.

946 alteriusque ... naturae 'the other element/world' – the marine as opposed to the terrestrial world.

947 restare 'hold my ground', 'stay where I was', if the analogy with the fishes' behaviour is a close one (937), or perhaps 'hold out' (cf. 516): *OLD* s.v. *resto* 1, 2.

repetenda ... numquam 'never again to be visited by me'. Cf. 881n. on the future participle with similar force.

-que: cf. 445n.

949 di maris: the minor gods such as those mentioned by Galatea in lines 918–19.

exceptum: sc. *me*.

socio ... honore: the privilege of being one of their number.

950–1 utque ... rogant 'they asked Ocean and Tethys to remove from me my bodily impurities / mortal parts'. Tethys is the wife of Ocean, the great river which, according to Homer, encircles the world.

951–3 Glaucus is purified of his mortal qualities. He is made to utter nine times a purificatory spell or formula, and to immerse himself in the waters of a hundred rivers.

Purification by water, usually ritual hand-washing, is a common feature of Greek and Roman cult practice, and is mentioned already in Homer (*Il.* 1.314). Normally what is to be washed away is either a physical stain (e.g. blood) or a metaphorical stain (a crime or ritual uncleanliness); here however it is the *mortalia*, those transitory qualities which differentiate mankind from the gods. The idea is found elsewhere, most notably at 14.603–4, where his mother Venus makes

Aeneas immortal: *quidquid in Aenea fuerat mortale, repurgat | et respersit aquis: pars optima restitit illi.* Underlying the practice is the concept, associated particularly with Orphism, that the body is an unworthy tabernacle for the immortal soul, and that it must be purged away before what remains can attain to immortal life. Glaucus' is a gigantic *lustratio* involving the pure stream of Ocean, his wife Tethys, and one hundred of their offspring, the rivers (Hes. *Theog.* 337; cf. Virg. *Geo.* 4.382–3 *Oceanumque patrem rerum nymphasque sorores, | centum quae siluas, centum quae flumina seruant*): so many ablutions can hardly fail to wash away the mortal parts of a humble fisherman.

952 nouiens: threefold repetition is very common in ancient religious and magical practice, and thrice three is triply efficacious. Cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 8.73–5 *terna tibi haec primum triplici diuersa colore | licia circumdo terque haec altaria circum | effigiem duco. numero deus impare gaudet.*

purgante nefas ... carmine 'a *nefas*-purging spell', i.e. a rhythmical formula associated with ritual purification.

954–7 Glaucus discovers that he need not visit the hundred rivers individually: no sooner has he received his commands than they all come together and deluge his head with their joint streams. Not surprisingly, he loses his senses and can now recollect no more of the lustration process. The account is a humorous one, but the humour exploits specific aspects of ritual. The act is, as well as a cleansing and purification, an initiation into a new and superior state of being; and it was characteristic of such rites to evoke fear and induce an altered state of consciousness (e.g. weakness through fasting) in the initiands. Personal accounts of initiation are often cut short when the narrator scrupulously observes secrecy with regard to 'what happened next' (e.g. Apul. *Met.* 11.23.5–7); here, however, Glaucus' interruption of his tale has a more mundane explanation.

The detail of the hundred rivers is probably an allusion to the requirement sometimes expressed by oracles that the perpetrator of a particularly heinous crime should visit several holy places or placate several gods in order to gain absolution. See Parker (1983) 226–7 n. 107, who cites Theophr. *Char.* 16.2, Men. *Phasma* 55, Ap. Rh. 3.860, Suda α 3298 Adler 'those being purified of murder wash their clothes in the sea fourteen times', and other passages.

954 nec mora: the gods know no delay; suddenness and immediacy are hallmarks of their actions. See 617n. (*subitis*).

lapsi: sc. *sunt*.

955 totaque: 785–6n.

uertuntur: as in a *uertex*, 'a swirling mass of water' (*OLD* s.v. 1a). The image would be intensified if *tortaque* were read for *totaque*: cf. *Ex P.* 4.10.48 *crebro uertice tortus Halys*, Lucr. 1.293 *uertice torto*, *OLD* s.v. *torqueo* 8c.

aequora: this word is rarely used of river water: *OLD* s.v. 4.

956 memoranda 'which should be related', sc. as being memorable.

957 nec 'but ... not'.

958 quae: sc. *mens mea* (957).

rediit: on *-it* scanned long see 444n.

958–9 quae ... recepi 'I got back another me quite different in body from how I had been just before, and not the same in mind': a variant on *alium corpore, alium mente*: i.e. *mente* is not to be taken with *recepi*, but is parallel with *corpore*. The line-end formally echoes the common *mentemque recepit* (Virg. *Aen.* 10.899), *mente recepta* (Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.104), etc. ('regain consciousness'), but Ovid has varied the meaning *more suo*: cf. 360n.

alium ... | ac 'different from': *OLD* s.v. *alius*[1] 1c. *quam* is more common.

960 ferrugine: since Glaucus is describing a marine blue-green colour (913n.), *ferrugine* presumably implies a darkish or greyish tinge for *uiridem*.

960–3 Glaucus enumerates the characteristics which had so surprised Scylla at lines 912–15: *uiridem ferrugine barbam*, *caerula bracchia* ~ 913 *colorem*; *caesariem*, *umeros* ~ 914; *curuata nouissima pisce* ~ 915 *ultima ... tortilis ... piscis*. He hopes by now to have reasoned her out of her earlier revulsion.

961 meam looks back to *hanc*: 'this beard and hair of mine'.

quam ... uerro: the hair of a swimmer trails behind, and sea-gods are often depicted with long and lavish locks.

longa per aequora: cf. 911 *longa ... in aequora*.

963 '... and legs that curve beneath with [the body of] a finny fish': *OLD* s.v. *nouissimus* 6b; cf. 915 *ultima*.

964–5 There is a threefold variation of syntax with *iuuat*, the subjects being successively a noun (*species*), a prolative infinitive (*placuisse*), and an accusative and infinitive (*esse deum*). *istis* = 'all these things'.

964 placuisse: when it better suits the metre, Ovid often uses the perfect infinitive instead of the present, and with no difference in meaning.

965 non tangeris 'are not affected/persuaded'.

istis probably refers to *species* and *esse deum* rather than to the 'advantages' which he has taken such trouble to explain.

967–8 dicturum ... deum: cf. 1.525–6 *plura locuturum timido Peneïa cursu | fugit cumque ipso uerba imperfecta reliquit* (Apollo and Daphne: cf. 907–8n.).

967 deum, echoing *deum* above (965), carries emphasis as final word of its sentence: he may have been a god, but she left him none the less.

ille inritatusque: on the elision at the caesura see 550n.

968 The book is rounded off by a variant of the Golden Line (aVbAB): 54n.

prodigiosa: because full of animals metamorphosed from men by the witch Circe. She is soon to transform Scylla into a hideous monster (see p. 41).

Titanidos ... Circes: Homer makes Circe the daughter of Perse and Helios, the sun (*Od.* 10.138–9), who is descended from Hyperion (*Od.* 12.176), one of the Titans, children of Uranus and Ge. For her role in the ensuing tale see p. 41.

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